

TLS

THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

Important news for New Subscribers

The surest, most convenient way to get the TLS each week is to take out a subscription. Our subscription service located at the address below will provide all subscribers quickly and regularly with their weekly copy of the paper, which offers an incomparable guide to new and recent books published all over the world. New subscribers are invited to begin here, by filling in the coupon below.

NEW SUBSCRIPTION RATES

The following postal zones are listed for your convenience. If your country is not included, please contact your local postal authority to ascertain your correct zone as specified by the British Post Office.

United Kingdom only by surface mail.
6 months (26 issues) £12.50
12 months (52 issues) £25.00.
British Postal Zone 'A' including Algeria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates.
6 months (26 issues) £23.66
12 months (52 issues) £47.32.
British Postal Zone 'B' including Argentina, Bermuda, Brazil, Hong Kong, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Malaysia, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Singapore, South Africa, Trinidad and Tobago, Zambia, Zimbabwe.
6 months (26 issues) £26.52
12 months (52 issues) £53.04.
British Postal Zone 'C' including Australia, China, Japan, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Taiwan.
6 months (26 issues) £29.12.
12 months (52 issues) £58.24.
Europe including Cyprus, Gibraltar, Malta.
6 months (26 issues) £21.06
12 months (52 issues) £42.12
USA and Canada by air
6 months (26 issues) US\$35.00.
12 months (52 issues) US\$70.00.

Please send me *The Times Literary Supplement*
☐ 6 months ☐ 12 months

Please print

NAME

ADDRESS

I enclose my cheque for made payable to Times Newspapers Ltd

Signature

Date

Return this coupon to Times Newspapers Ltd, Supplements Subscription Manager, Oakfield House, 35 Ferry Mount Road, Haywards Heath, West Sussex RH16 3DH.



THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

Priory House, St John's Lane, London EC1M 4BX

AUGUST 26 1983

Ancient History 895-6

Art 897

Bibliography 901

Biography 899

Commentary 904-06

English Literature 913

Fiction 898, 915

Middle East 911

Philosophy 914

Russian Literature 912

Science 903

Scotland 908-10

United States 902

War Studies 900

INDEX OF BOOKS REVIEWED

- BALL, NICOLE, and MILTON LEITENBERG (Editors) *The Structure of the Defence Industry* [Lawrence Freedman]
BELL, MADISON SMARTY *The Washington Square Ensemble* [Mary Furness]
BOLD, ALAN *Modern Scottish Literature* [Ian Campbell]
BOLD, ALAN *MacDiarmid: The terrible crystal* [Neil Corcoran]
BREMNER, JAN *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* [Malcolm Schofield]
CLAPPERTON, CHALMERS M. (Editor) *Scotland: A new study* [Christopher Harvie]
CLIFTON, TONY, and CATHERINE LEROY *God Cried* [Malcolm Yapp]
COWAN, IAN B., and DUNCAN SHAW (Editors) *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland* [Edward Playfair]
DAVIES, AUSTIN *An Annotated Critical Bibliography of Modernism* [Edward Mendelson]
DE VRIES, PETER *Slouching Towards Kalamazoo* [Eric Korn]
DEVINE, T. M., and DAVID DICKSON (Editors) *Ireland and Scotland 1600-1850: Parallels and Contrasts in Economic and Social Development* [F. M. L. Thompson]
DONOVAN, ROBERT J. *Tumultuous Years: The Presidency of Harry S. Truman 1949-1953* [Hugh Brogan]
DÖRFER, INGMAR *Arms Deal: The selling of the F-16* [Lawrence Freedman]
EDMOND, MARY *Hill and Oliver* [Graham Reynolds]
EDWARDS, JOHN *Superweapon: The making of MX* [Lawrence Freedman]
EIGEN, MANFRED, and RUTHILD WINKLER *Laws of the Game: How the principles of nature govern chance* [Richard Gregory]
ELSTER, JON *Explaining Technical Change: A case study in the philosophy of science* [Nicholas Rescher]
ENOBELL, JAMES, and W. JACKSON BATE (Editors) *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Volume 7* [Rosemary Ashton]
FERNÁNDEZ-ARMESTO, FELIPE *Sadat and his Statecraft* [P. J. Vatikiotis]
FIGES, EVA *Light* [Linda Taylor]
FINLEY, M. I. *Politics in the Ancient World* [Oswyn Murray]
FRASER, DAVID (Editor) *The Christian West Papers* [James Hunter]
GILMOUR, DAVID *Lebanon: The fractured country* [Malcolm Yapp]
GORDON, DAVID C. *The Republic of Lebanon: Nation in jeopardy* [Malcolm Yapp]
GREENE, MOTT T. *Geology in the Nineteenth Century* [Hugh Torrens]
GRIEVE, C. M. *Annals of the Five Senses: The first collected work by Hugh MacDiarmid* [Neil Corcoran]
HALLAM, A. *Great Geological Controversies* [Roy Porter]
HEIKAL, MOHAMED *Autumn of Fury: The assassination of Sadat* [P. J. Vatikiotis]
HINGLEY, RONALD *Pasternak: A biography* [Angela Livingstone]
HOBSON, MARIAN *The Object of Art: The theory of illusion in eighteenth-century France* [Michael Podro]
KAHNEMAN, DANIEL, and others (Editors) *Judgment under Uncertainty: Heuristics and biases* [Avishai Margalit]
KENNEDY, GAVIN *Defense Economics* [Lawrence Freedman]
KERRIGAN, CATHERINE *Wharfedale Meets: The poetry of Hugh MacDiarmid 1920-1934* [Neil Corcoran]
LUTTWAK, EDWARD N. *The Grand Strategy of the Soviet Union* [Otto Pick]
MCALLUM, NEIL *A Small Country: Scotland 1700-1830* [James Campbell]
MALLAC, GUY DE *Boris Pasternak: His life and art* [Angela Livingstone]
MARSHALL, ROSALIND K. *Virgins and Viragos: A history of women in Scotland from 1080-1980* [Rosalind Mitchison]
MASON, ANITA *The Illusionist* [Neville Shack]
MOON, WILLIAM LEAST HEAT *Blue Highways: A journey into America* [Jim Crace]
O'LEARY, PATRICK *Regency Editors: Life of John Scott* [John Gross]
RAY, JULIAN *Venice: Dancer and the Oriental Mode* [Robert Irwin]
RANDALL, JONATHAN *The Tragedy of Lebanon: Christian warlords, Israeli adventurers and American bunglers* [Malcolm Yapp]
ROYLE, TREVOR *The Macmillan Companion to Scottish Literature* [Ian Campbell]
SCOTTISH SHORT STORIES 1983 [Sylvia Aitken]
SCRIVENER, MICHAEL *Radical Shelley* [Sean French]
SORRELLS, C. A. *US Cruise Missile Programs* [Lawrence Freedman]
TRAVER, B. *The Night Visitor and Other Stories* [Laws Jones]
Exhibition *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and his pupils* (National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh) [David Walker]
Theatre: SEAN MATHIAS *Cowardice* (Ambassadors Theatre) [Harold Hobson]
Opera: RICHARD WAGNER *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (Festspielhaus, Bayreuth) [Patrick Carnegy]
Behind the Lines: ROBERT HEWSON *The SAC Scottish Paperback Scheme* [Anne Smith]
The periodicals: 2: 'Akros' J. C. McGarratt
Paperbacks in brief
Poems by D. W. Hartnett, John Levert, Samuel Menashah
Literature: The Nature of Chance, The Oxford Shakespeare
Editorial: A note
Among this week's contributors

ANCIENT HISTORY

M. I. FINLEY

Politics in the Ancient World
152pp. Cambridge University Press.
£15 (paperback, £5.95).
0521 254892

For better or for worse we owe to the Greeks and the Romans the fact that Western civilization regards politics as the central concern of man. Few areas of our culture have escaped the fundamental perception of Aristotle that man is a "political animal", or in modern terminology a social being, whose highest good can only be attained by means of association: the laws of association are therefore uniquely privileged in the science of the study of man. Politics is the royal art.

So we see our history as the history of politics and power, of action and event in peace and war. Our freedom is measured in terms of our ability to influence or determine decisions concerned with the community at large, a view which, as the Greeks saw, leads ultimately to the paradox that the freest and the happiest man is the tyrant or dictator. Our analysis of the community is directed towards the way that it works, its organization for action and change, not the way that it creates satisfaction. Our economics relates to the manipulation of wealth, and to the tools necessary for the acquiring, use or distribution of material goods: we ignore the "utility factor", why men actually choose to live in a non-economic world. We recognize with Max Weber that the essential differentiating factor of our civilization is a political one, the "formal rationality" of our institutions.

This rationality is carried over into the understanding of areas of our culture which might otherwise seem to offer different principles of organization. The metaphors of politics, system, organization, hierarchies, influences, schools, purposes, justifications, structures, are the starting-points for our attempts to understand human creativity in the arts and literature. Even our religion does not help us, for it is a Jewish religion organized for the nation-state; and ever since Saint Augustine saw belief as membership of the city of God, that last refuge of the individual has usually been accepted as a social phenomenon, a question of groups, heresies, hierarchies of command, laws, rules, rituals, observances, obedience. The artist, the man of passion and the mystic remain obscure irritants, unless they can be related to a group, a set of doctrines, or a purpose. Even the external world has been reduced to its political forms in the hierarchies of the laws of physics, and subjected to power in the avowed purpose of science to colonize and control nature, to understand in order to use. When faced with other cultures, we call in experts armed with Western theories to explain what may in fact be quite outside our rules of explanation; they apply sophisticated forms of functional analysis or structural theories to normalize the otherness of systems incompatible with ours.

Yet Western society, for all its success, is unusual, perhaps even unique, and certainly much less normal than our own versions of the history and culture of others allow: we are perhaps the only major civilization to have organized ourselves and our perceptions on the political model. Even like we have our problems; according to Edwin Ardener: "Ethnographers report that women cannot be reached so easily as men; they giggle when young, snort when old, reject the question, laugh at the topic, and the like. The male members of a society frequently see the ethnographer's difficulties as simply a caricature of their own daily case." If in our own daily case women regard it as go longer seemly to giggle or to snort, when uncorrected by male categories of power and organization, they often seem to reject us and our concerns, as really with exasperation perceived by us within our own society.

Of course we may be right to argue, the world according to our own traditions, and we have at least the

biological justification of success. But (since self-awareness is not a political virtue) we seldom take the chance to stand outside ourselves, and consider the oddity of our world-view and its origins. It is a remarkable feature of this wise and complex book by M. I. Finley that he faces such questions, if only from the historical point of view: "Politics in our sense rank among the rarer of human activities in the pre-modern world." Nor is the practice of politics ever quantitatively an important part of even Western human activity.

Professional politicians, whether in the ancient Graeco-Roman or in the contemporary context, are quantitatively a negligible minority of the citizen-body. For them politics are a way of life, even though they believe, or at least persuade themselves, that their role is to advance the good of the society in which they operate; that, in other words, politics are a second-order activity designed to achieve objectives that are in themselves not political. For everyone else politics are wholly instrumental: the objectives themselves are what matter in the end.

Therefore, we may add, for everyone else politics is only interesting in so far as change is in question. Why should we be organized? Why should we desire change rather than continuity? Why should we not prefer to be left alone to cultivate our gardens? Why indeed does this small minority of politicians and those who feed on them think that they make any difference to the real world? Even they (and the Ancient World was no different) spend most of their time in the more normal pursuits of eating, drinking, sleeping and making love. Why do they use that gift of language for such boring things, when they could be discussing the state of their souls or singing or giving expression to their natural desires?

The Greeks started it, and their chief responsibility lies in making politics accessible to all. Not everyone approved of this universalization of the political mode. Plato thought that it should be confined to the few, who should themselves have other ends in view. A later generation looked back on the classical city-state with horror: much of Hellenistic philosophy is concerned with the flight from the city-state, which is why we often like to regard it as a decline, a failure of nerve. Diogenes thought you could live in a barrel and despise your fellow men; Epicurus thought you could live in a garden and seek true pleasure—politics was an irrelevant disturbance of the psyche. The Stoics thought you could avoid decisions by being content with everything. But these are mere defences against the successful politicization of their society.

At the lowest level, as even the Epicureans agreed, politics is concerned with survival. The individual needs the group, because the organization of the group ensures his safety. But that is a minimal view, which can leave politics to others.

But we have moved too fast, and

Oswyn Murray

except in emergencies; it does not practise the education of societies which is naturally itself a political one, concentrating on the dynamics of change. It rests on two observations. The first is the ancient Greek perception of political unrest (*stasis*) as a power struggle between rich and poor. This formulation is found in all ancient theorists, and is supported by the exuberant vocabulary of practical politics, which only half disguises the constant dichotomy between having and not having, behind a series of moral terms—the many and the few, the rich and the poor, the noble, the worthy, the best, the beautiful-and-good, the fat, the mean, the worthless, the mob. The second observation is essentially modern (though Aristotle was aware of it): it is the existence of a close relationship between the emergence of the politicized community and the emergence of citizen armies. Finley's emphasis on the problems of coercion and consent in small communities is essentially a restatement of the view put forward by Antony Andrews nearly thirty years ago and since widely discussed, that the advent in the seventh century of a heavily armed citizen militia of hoplites, which enabled the Greeks to overthrow the Macedonians and Romans to dominate the Mediterranean and Middle East, also meant the creation of politics, for precisely the reasons which Finley expresses.

In this analysis the Greeks are seen, and see themselves, as politically rational. There is little room here for the primitivization of ancient politics so loved of modern students who seek to assimilate the Greeks to some tribal model. Kin and clan play no part, patronage and authority (as Finley argues in a fascinating chapter) are minimal and essentially subordinate to the needs of politics. I have doubts. Ignoring the question of survivals from a pre-polis age, Finley himself has argued for the importance of status over class in *The Ancient Economy* (1973); and recognizes that some contradiction is involved in the stress on the importance of class in his analysis of politics. The problem is how deep this contradiction runs, and whether we should not also consider the claims of kinship groups. We do not need a simple model: Meyer Fortes has argued convincingly that it is precisely the complexity of social groupings and the conflicting pressures they create which offer space for individual freedom; to my mind the intellectual development of ancient Greece is a supreme example of this process. Nor is it easy to see the atrocities committed in the course of ancient *stasis* as solely a consequence of economic forces.

To take two famous examples, when in 424 the "Corymbians of the town" finally captured the stronghold of the "Corymbians of the mountain", they tricked their prisoners into voiding the terms of their surrender to the Athenians. The prisoners thus handed over were shut up by the Corymbians in a large

building, and afterwards taken out by twenties and led past two lines of heavy infantry, one on each side, being bound together, and beaten and stabbed by the men in the lines whenever any saw pass a personal enemy; while men carrying whips went by their side and hastened on the road those that walked too slowly. When the prisoners discovered what was happening, they barricaded themselves inside and begged in vain to be killed by the Athenian troops present. The Corymbians then took the roof off the building, threw down the tiles and let fly arrows at them, from which the prisoners sheltered themselves as well as they could. Most of their number, meanwhile, were engaged in killing themselves by thrusting into their throats the arrows shot by the enemy, and hanging themselves with the cords taken from some beds, that happened to be there, and with strips made from their clothing; adopting, in short, every possible means of self-destruction, and also falling victims to the missiles of their enemies on the roof. Night came on while these horrors were enacting, and most of it had passed before they were concluded. When it was day the Corymbians threw them in layers upon wagons and carried them out of the city. All the women taken in the stronghold were sold as slaves. (Thucydides 4, 46-8)

Earlier, in sixth-century Miletus, the party of Wealth, the Perpetual Sailors, had fought the Barefists; the poor seized the children of the rich, herded them into granaries and had them trampled to death by oxen; in retaliation the rich smeared the poor and their children with pitch and set them alight. My point is that, though both these instances are portrayed as struggles between rich and poor, that in itself is not sufficient to explain the actions; there must surely also be a social dimension involved.

Yet Finley is right in seeing the Greeks as at least striving towards political rationality; this drive is what created our Western tradition. In classical Athens the progressive subordination of the family and kinship groups to the state is clear, as the state sought to control and use pre-state institutions to define and regulate membership; and if Athens is likely to be more "advanced", it may also serve as a model. With Rome however the problem is more difficult. Finley's discussion is devoted to overthrowing the prevailing modern view of Roman politics (based on late Republican evidence) that it was an empty struggle of political personalities for wealth and power, based on traditional support-blocks known as *clientela*, the Roman version of a patronage or (in the wide sense) kinship group; this basic social model gradually evolved to include larger sections of the community such as cities, armies and even provinces. For Finley "kinship, real or putative, is not what gave the aristocracy its hold over the common people" in either Greece or Rome.

Neither of these views can be proved or disproved, if only because there is no coherent evidence for third and second-century Roman politics apart from lists of magistrates: that is one of the attractions of making the period into a golden age. We can dimly see the society of early Rome racked by political violence; we simply do not know if the consequence of that violence was the establishment of politics involving participation between the orders or the acceptance of a patronage system. Finley appeals to an unpublished paper by P. A. Brunt, which at least in the earlier version known to me seemed (against its intention) to suggest that the Greeks were indeed right when they saw that a basic difference between their political world and that of the Romans lay in the importance at Rome of patronage groups. At least the new view will be controversial: it is only three years since the discovery in Latio of a dedication by the *studeles* of the first consul of the Roman Republic, Publius Valerius, to Mars: are these warriors not a patronage group like the claudians of the Claudii and the Fabii.

The Return

It is almost dark when you come jogging through the lounge wall,
A flex under a vest tucked into serge trousers—
Your wake is seaweed, salt . . . You pause by my chair, panting.

Silvers of skin stipple your sunburnt scalp. Pebbles
And sand swirl each turn-up. Unfurling forearms looped
With hairs you tump a pipe, then sneeze. The fire flutters.

'Grandad' I cry in a voice squashed between twenty years;
'Where have you been holidaying alone all this time:
Bude, Rhyl, St. Ives?' You wink and, bending double,

Press both palms to the hearthrug. Next your heels are up
And against the mantelpiece—your face reversed, glowing
The handstand lasts all night. All night dribbling grains

Runnel your chin and soft as moth wings in the stillness
Mint plop from a bag in your pocket to the floor.

D.W. Hartnett

who operated in political society in the same period?

Finley certainly shows that this is not the whole story: issues, goals and policies were important; and I think he is right to regard the middle Republic as merely marked by the absence of violent struggle rather than the absence of political issues, a period whose stability rested on the ability of the aristocracy to satisfy the lower classes through conquest. But he does not succeed in establishing a rational model of Roman politics, where *nobilitas*, *clientela*, *amicitia* and *fides* play no part. This very failure of course strengthens his case, for it serves to explain the peculiarities of Roman politics: the way that the Roman experience, starting from the same base-line of a citizen militia, differed so profoundly at all stages from the Greek experience.

In general, it is characteristic of Finley's essentially political approach that he is not sympathetic to tradition in politics. It is indeed one of the paradoxes of politics that it deals with real people who are not politically rational. Utopians and revolutionaries can forget this; the politician, theoretically the agent of decision and change, needs to balance change with tradition if he is to gain the support of ordinary non-political people. The people are not usually, even in Greece, sufficiently involved to be having Marxists, even if they can see which side their interests are bettered on. In a brilliant earlier book, *Democracy Ancient and Modern* (1973), Finley used the Greeks to demolish modern theories of democracy which claim that it rests on the apathy of the majority against extremism. But there is a difference between rejecting the view that apathy is the basis of democracy and claiming that apathy (which is only a pejorative word for traditionalism or regarding politics as unimportant) is not a social virtue: how would we distinguish the politicians if we were all politically active all the time? And who could live in a permanent electoral fever? Even the House of Commons has a bar, from which the members have to be called in order to vote.

The Athenians were indeed accused by other Greeks of being excessively political, and in retaliation claimed it as a virtue. *Polupragmosyne*, public activity, was the distinguishing mark of the Athenian. To describe their character in brief, one might truly say that they were born into the world to take no rest themselves and to give none to others. But even in Athens there were those who thought that one could lack interest in politics while remaining a member of the community and displaying social virtues, though this view was not the dominant one.

Athenian politics was of course more interesting than ours since, unlike modern politics, it was not a spectator sport. A citizen assembly meeting forty times a year and attending between a sixth and a quarter of the total male citizen population is an extraordinary phenomenon of participation; even more extraordinary is the administration of justice and of government entirely by means of men chosen at random by lot: in any one decade between a quarter and a third of the total eligible citizenry will have done a year's service as one of 500 councillors overseeing every aspect of government business. It was a true political system, without any politics in our modern sense of parties or policies or institutionalized pressure-groups, and without at least in the fifth century, many established rules for decision-making. The leaders of the people, the demagogues, developed special skills of oratory, and special qualities of personality to survive; no wonder they were often hated by dependent men even as they voted for their views.

But how did this system of "admitted lunacy" (as Alcibiades, the only too rational and therefore unsuccessful politician, described it) actually produce good and stable government? Even Finley cannot quite believe in the undirected good sense of the people, who after all were pursuing class interests: in "a curious lapse" he postulates the existence of "experts" behind the politicians, "experts which I believe to have been indispensable in the outgrowth of political leadership, specialists in international affairs, finances and so on". Yet there is no sign of the existence of such experts apart from the leaders themselves.

Thus the decree of 425 BC which trebled the tribute from Athens's empire after the capture of a Spartan elite corps at Pylos was indeed drafted by an expert, who was well aware of the need to correct the disastrous economic mistakes of Pericles, and transfer the cost of the war from reserves to revenue; but that expert was Cleon, the demagogue, whose interest in the finances of the state can be seen in a variety of measures of the previous years and in the caricature of him presented by Aristophanes. In 339 BC, when Philip of Macedonia invaded southern Greece, the expert to whom the Athenians turned was the politician Demosthenes, who had been warning them over a decade; and not surprisingly he had in his hand a decree incorporating his plan of action already formulated as he rose to speak: Demosthenes had no need of an expert adviser on Macedonian affairs.

To repeat, how did democracy work? The answer does indeed lie in the good sense of the people and in the way this sense limited and directed the policies and ambitions of the politicians. As Pericles said, "we are all able to judge policies even if we cannot all initiate them". But this good sense rested on the absence of interest in class interest and the dominance of non-political attitudes even in the political context. The Athenian democracy could do without administrators, it could do without experts (especially legal experts); instead it had created politicians. But politics is too important a matter to be left to the politicians; indeed, as Plato saw, what a much better place the world would be if we could only do without them as well. Not even the Athenians could manage that, but they did better than us, who have to suffer administrators, experts and politicians we live in the worst of all rational worlds.

There is a paradox in Finley's analysis of Greek political society: on the one hand it is dominated by class interest, on the other it is created by the existence of a citizen militia. Finley is aware of the problem: if the state is split between rich and poor, on which side does the citizen militia stand? Aristotle liked to think that the army was the middle party, the advocate of moderation between rich and poor: Finley rejects this tripartite model, but also exacerbates the problem that it poses. For the dominant coercive power in the state in his sense was always the citizen army, comprising numerically a third of the adult male population in the middle range of wealth. It follows from Finley's whole analysis that the stability of the state lay here, and we must explain the political colour of the state by the willingness of this group to ally itself with one or other of the extremes.

There are two possible ways of regarding the rise to political power of a new military group. It can be seen as a seizure of power by a wider social class consequent on a change in military technology, that is as part of a class struggle; in such a case the change will be seen by the society itself as involving a more or less clear break in the political development of the state. Or the change may be seen as an extension of the political class, a process by which others become included in the ruling elite, and take on their attitudes and responsibilities. The interesting thing about ancient Greece is that it exhibits both these alternatives. Broadly one may say that the "hoplite revolution", the extension of power to the citizen militia, was a silent revolution of the second type; a process whereby the new militia came to accept the social attitudes and symbolic life-style of the aristocracy, so the Spartan state was remodelled to allow everyone to live the life of an aristocrat. But the later extension of power in certain states to the rowers in the navy, and therefore to the whole citizen body as a whole, is portrayed in our sources as a genuine revolution without assimilation, involving a democratization of culture and even an attempt to impose on the aristocracy the social norms of the majority.

This is the reason why the citizen militia often sided with the aristocracy because it could regard itself as part of an elite. With the aristocracy differentiated from the majority by a whole range of social attitudes and different life-style. On the other hand there was no very clear break in terms of class or economic status between citizens who served in the army and

citizens who served in the navy: the hoplites could and often did side with the majority. Thus the history of the short-lived oligarchies in Athens at the end of the fifth century demonstrates clearly that it was the allegiances, the doubts and the final decision of the citizen hoplites for the democracy of their ancestors that determined the issue. Nor was their decision a political one: when in 404 a democratic army faced an oligarchic army in the port of Piraeus, a member of one of the most respected priestly families of Athens, the herald of the Eleusinian mysteries, a man with a particularly powerful voice, stood between the lines, and shouted this message:

Fellow citizens, why are you driving us out of the city? Why do you want to kill us? We have never done you any harm. We have shared with you in the most holy rites, in sacrifices and in splendid festivals; we have danced in choruses with you and gone to school with you and fought in the army with you, braving together with you the dangers of land and sea in defence of our common safety and freedom. In the name of the gods of our fathers and mothers, of the bonds of kinship and marriage and companionship, which are shared by so many of us on either side, I beg you feel shame before gods and men and cease to harm our fatherland, obeying these evil men, the Thirty, who have in eight months for the sake of their private gain almost killed more Athenians than all the Peloponnesians in ten years of war. (Xenophon 2.4.20-22)

This was what the restored democracy of 403 BC recognized: in one of the most comprehensive series of reforms in Athenian constitutional history, largely unnoticed by historians until the past decade, the Athenian democracy was reformed and given a regular constitution for the first time. That constitution served to inhibit extreme action and to produce a balance within the state which lasted

Spirit levels

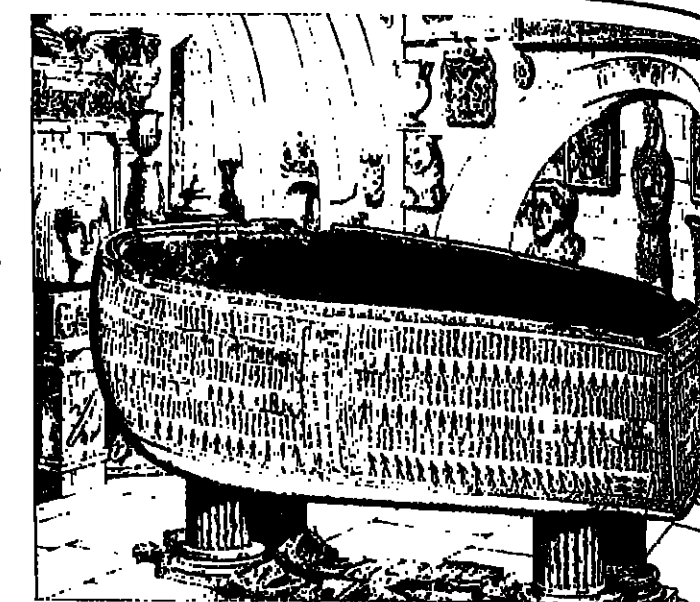
Malcolm Schofield

JAN BREMMER

The Early Greek Concept of the Soul
134pp. Guildford: Princeton University Press. £17.30.
0 681 03131 2

"By confronting the Greek material with findings from social anthropology and folklore," says the dust-jacket, "Jan Bremmer achieves new insight into the early Greek concept of the soul and illuminates an important stage in the genesis of the Greek mind." Hope tinged with doubt springs within the reader's breast: hope, because the scholar is at once difficult and fascinating, and because classical scholars remain as a body rather shy of the sustenance which comparative studies can bring to their work; despite the magnificent example of E. R. Dodds' *The Greeks and the Irrational*, doubt, because the knowledge and the methodological sophistication needed to make a comparative study of so elusive a subject a success are very considerable. In the event hope was driven out by doubt rather quickly, although subsequently it staged a late partial recovery.

Bremmer derives his basic scheme of analysis from the Swedish scholar, Ernst Arbanus, who worked initially not on contemporary societies but on ancient Vedā texts, early Christian Scandinavia and classical Greece. Arbanus's views "have been elaborated by his pupils in two major monographs on the soul: *Beliefs of North America* (ie, the Indians) and *North America*, confirmed by the studies of other scholars, and widely accepted by anthropologists." The key idea of the analysis is "a distinction between the body-soul, which endows a person with life and consciousness, and the free soul, 'an unencumbered personality', which is 'active in dreams, leaves the body in swoons and trances', and survives 'death'. Bremmer's plan is to attempt to apply this 'distinction' to Homer and to ancient Greek texts, to see what illumination it brings. His conclusion is that it works. The Greeks



The Sarcophagus of Sethi I, reproduced from Latt: *The Heritage of Pharaohs* by Russell Chamberlain, to be published by Thames and Hudson on September 12 (248pp. £8.95, 0 500 01306 3); discovered at Luxor by the Italian expedition of antiquities Giovanni Battista Belzoni, it was sold to Sir John Soane in 1819 by Belzoni's mentor, Henry Salt, the English Consul in Cairo.

until it was overthrown by the Macedonians at the end of the century. One of the weakest points in Finley's claim that it is the conquest states which achieved political stability is the difficulty such a theory has in explaining Athenian political stability in the fourth century, after Athens had lost her empire and at a time of complex and usually unsuccessful foreign struggles. Can political stability be achieved simply by nostalgia for empire? Would that explain the stability of modern Britain? A theory of class conflict which does not allow for the existence of a bourgeoisie cannot explain political stability.

What then does the study of our origins suggest? Finley's view is Hobbesian: survival, self-interest and success are the justification of politics,

which arose from military necessity, and class war. Such a view results in deriving society from politics, a typical of our tradition. Ultimate power is Aristotle's belief that the community is prior, and that the political animal in his need to associate for the purpose of achieving the good life, not to dominate others. We may have accepted that we live in a political society and that politics are useful. But are not the end of life, nor are the end of history. We do not need the Greeks for this part of their thought, and resist the temptation to see thought and art as mere expression of the political life. The life of life lies outside politics.

displayed in the earliest stages of their soul belief the same broad categories that Arbanus and his pupils came across in their research. . . . Greek soul belief of the Arbanus age was dualistic: it still separated two elements, the free soul and the body soul that together constitute the modern concept of the soul."

Readers of Homer will guess why Bremmer thinks himself entitled to this conclusion. Everyone would agree that Homer's *psyche*, although it is what is risked in battle, has no specific physical or psychological function in the living man, except (as Dodds put it) to "leave him in death" for a shadowy existence in Hades: "its esse appears to be *supersede*" (it is often thought of as the "breath of life", a view firmly rebuked by Bremmer on page 16, but taken to be the key to the development of the concept on pages 22-4.) When Homer wants to refer to active psychological forces he talks of *thumos*, "spirit", *noos*, "thought", *menos*, "impulse" or "passion". These, Bremmer holds, are characteristic manifestations of body-soul; *psyche* is the free soul.

But is it? There is no evidence in Homer, as Bremmer admits, that *psyche* is active in sleep or other unconscious states; nor is it all safe to deny that *psyche* is a person's life and consciousness, although (unlike the free soul) it scarcely constitutes the individuality of a person, except as a bare vehicle for ascribing a shade the same identity as its living predecessor. Bremmer resorts to a gratuitous genetic hypothesis to evade these difficulties: "Before Homer the Greeks in all probability had a word for the free soul that was gradually replaced by the life soul, identified with the *psyche* or breath", and he takes it to be just an accident of the evidence that we do not hear of souls wandering in trances earlier than the legends of Ariadne and Heracles.

But if the word for life soul could so easily replace the supposititious word for free soul, perhaps the Greeks were not so wedded to dualism after all? And in fact Bremmer has his own reasons for deciding (a mere fifteen lines after his assertion of dualism) that Greek soul belief might best be characterized as multiple: "for, out of Snelling Snell, he takes *thumos*, *noos*

ART

Testaments of beauty

Graham Reynolds

MARY EDMOND

Hilliard and Oliver: The lives and works of two great miniaturists
238pp. Hale. £15.95.
0 7050 0927 5

At the Court of Elizabeth I a fine personal appearance could be the source of favour and the badge of office. The art of portraiture was prized because it gave a permanent record of those "rare beauties" which Hilliard said were "more commonly found in this Isle of England than elsewhere". Of the various forms which a portrait could take, medal, engraving, sculpture, painting, the portrait miniature or limning enjoyed the highest regard. Its practitioners gained the social status of gentlemen. Their works, small, precisely framed images which could be held in the hand, worn on the costume or admired in secret, held an almost magical power when they portrayed the features of the Queen, a courtier or a lover.

The two artists who dominated limning in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were Nicholas Hilliard and Isaac Oliver. In this book Mary Edmond accords them a joint biography. Her extensive researches in the archives have enabled her to make substantial additions to the somewhat scrappy information previously available. She brings to this material a wide knowledge of the Cities of London and Westminster and a keen perception of the importance of the guilds and of the significance of certain parishes in which artists congregated. Hilliard always prided himself on his freedom of the Goldsmiths' Company, and a surprising number of his pupils, though not Oliver, achieved that status. Much of Oliver's life was spent in the parish of St Anne Blackfriars, where the large immigrant artist community provided him with a closely knit series of family relationships.

Elizabethan art breathes an air of liberation in the embrace of its decoration and the naive abandon of its colour. For Hilliard the advent of Elizabeth I was an actual liberation. Her accession was the signal for his return from Switzerland at the age of twelve. He had been sent abroad in the household of John Bodley to escape the Marian persecution of Protestants, which had reached terrifying heights in his home town of Exeter. This early exile combined with his later visit to France between 1576 and 1578 to give him a cosmopolitan grounding in

Turban touches

Robert Irwin

JULIAN RABY

Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode
100pp. Philip Wilson. £20.
0 8567 162 2

Marked by Ottoman soldiery, Mark Rabeau, the Arab bourgeois of medieval Alexandria, in the hands of Dürer and the Venetian painters at the turn of the fifteenth century the Christian message was in danger of being lost in a sea of oriental exoticism, domes and beards, a mad, mad world of the early history of Islam. Julian Raby's scholarly examination of a small group of paintings and engravings, in particular the *Adoration of the Kings*, allows a closer dating and more accurate tracing of the links between a number of works which, misleadingly, have been lumped together as having been inspired by Gentile Bellini's visit to the Ottoman court. I am tempted to think that the appearance of the folds of Turkish turbans in Renaissance paintings renders Raby the same sort of service that earlobes did for nineteenth-century attributionists. Morelli, of course, Morelli's method depended upon the artists' personal and more or less unconscious way of depicting earlobes, finger-nails and other marginal details. What emerges from Raby's book, on the other hand, is the deliberate care which the artists he studies took to get the details of Muslim costume right.

One painting is central to the enquiry, the anonymous "Reception of the Venetian Ambassadors" (now in the Louvre). The "Reception" is a prosaic depiction of a Mamluk governor receiving Venetian emissaries, a picture as undramatically documentary as any posed press photograph of a meeting of EEC delegates. Raby skillfully argues for locating the scene of the painting in Damascus, some time between 1488 and 1499. Despite the lack of fantasy, it came to be plundered by Renaissance artists for more fanciful creations. Bits and bobs even turn up in Carpaccio's dream wildernesses. Yet the Oriental mode never really "took". In part it would appear that this was because there were too few sources of visual information available: Bellini's portrait studies, Raby's engravings, the "Reception", perhaps one or two lost works, not more. Unlike the nineteenth-century French passion for the exotic, the Renaissance artists' interest in the Near East was a short-lived affair.

German, Flemish and French styles of painting. Yet he never lost his instinct for a national style in which the emphasis is laid on line rather than volume, an ideal inherited from the medieval illuminators. Sir John Harrington praised him for his skill in representing the Queen's face in four lines; Hilliard rather sharply corrects him: "He might as well have said in one line". His personal preference for reticence in shadowing echoed an English taste shared by the Queen herself. She chose to sit for him "in the open alley of a goodly garden, where no tree was near, nor any shadow at all". His ingrained instinct enabled him to limn a gallery of truly Elizabethan faces, wide-eyed, fresh complexioned, eager for life.

Oliver was about twenty years younger than Hilliard, and shows in his miniatures a markedly different temperament. He never renounced his French origins and painted in a manner far more consonant with the practice of his Continental contemporaries. His mood is more in tune with the deeper introspection of the Jacobean age. Yet it has been the destiny of these two artists, the master and his most eminent pupil, to be considered and written about together. One justification for this, until some forty years ago, was the fact that the work of the two artists had been totally confused. A substantial part of Hilliard's output was ascribed to Oliver and vice versa. To all intents and purposes these problems have now been resolved. But the content of Mary Edmond's book suggests another reason why the artists will go on being closely associated. There has accumulated around Hilliard a considerable amount of information and gossip, often miscellaneous and unsystematic. It is no derogation of Oliver's stature as a painter to say that the course of his life is largely known only through the reflected light cast by Hilliard's career. The author has made important additions to the sum of facts about Oliver's three marriages and his relationships with the artistic dynasties of de Critz and Gheerhaerts and with the court musician James Harding. But she has not been able to give an insight into his character comparable with that lavishly afforded by Hilliard's appeals for financial help no less than by his discursive textbook on limning. Oliver was, as she says, demure. His probity kept him out of lawsuits. But Hilliard's very capacity for getting into difficulties kept him in the public eye. His name crops up in the reports of the secret service in connection with plots to bring Arabella Stuart to the throne or attempts to deface a medallic image of the Queen. Mary Edmond acquires Hilliard of any reasonable intention in these unfortunate mishaps. He was a born adventurer, and the records refer to his unsuccessful business ventures,

such as gold mining in Scotland or repairing the highways. More credibly he is highly praised in sonnets by Henry Constable and John Donne as the leader of his art. His *Art of Limning* inaugurates the tradition of the articulate British painter; Hogarth, Reynolds, Constable and many others followed his lead in writing clearly and informatively about their art.

Even for Hilliard the biographical strand is broken and discontinuous. This gives scope for supposition and conjecture. I do not think that all the author's suggestions are well founded; for example, in her assessments of the portrait of Peter Oliver and Mary Queen of Scots. But her surmise that the Pierre Olvier, goldsmith of Rouen, who took refuge from religious persecution in Geneva when the young Hilliard was there in 1557, is the father of Isaac Oliver, is an arresting one. This early link between the families would provide one reason why the Olivers moved to London eleven years

Feats of imitation

Michael Podro

MARIAN HOBSON

The Object of Art: The Theory of Illusion in Eighteenth-Century France

397pp. Cambridge University Press. £25.
0 521 24350 5

There appear to be two books elaborately interwoven in Marian Hobson's *The Object of Art*. The first, which defines summary, is an immensely informative and unquestionably valuable survey of French eighteenth-century texts on illusion in literature, painting, theatre and music. The second, which is more theoretical, attempts to construct a theoretical treatise which would reveal the underlying problems of this literature. Dr Hobson perceives a conflict or shift between two conceptions of illusion through the century. On the one hand illusion is conceived as simulation, as presenting the reader or spectator with a copy of what is represented. Although it is admitted that we know that works of art are created in a medium and that artifice has been exercised, Hobson often confuses matters by writing as though illusion involved leading the reader or spectator into making a mistake. Such lapses aside, I take her point to be that in this kind of illusion the medium is not a matter of interest beyond being a vehicle for conveying the subject to the mind of the audience.

On the other hand, the second notion of illusion is conceived in terms of discovery, of uncovering the subject within the representation: in this case medium and artifice are acknowledged as part of the work's interest, as when Diderot describes Rameau's nephew imitating an opera. Here our interest includes perceiving the effectiveness of the feat of imitation, and even the feat of describing the feat of imitation; we are aware of our minds moving between what is really presented and what is suggested or depicted. The effect of this motion is characterized by the eighteenth-century term *papillotage* - a flickering effect.

These two notions of artistic illusion are thought by Hobson to depend on different conceptions of truth: the copy notion depends upon truth as correspondence, signalled by the term *ad-quinto*, while the discovery notion of illusion depends upon a conception of truth as something which points beyond what is present, and for this she adopts the term *aletheia*. Hobson introduces the notion of truth in the first place because her real concern, like that of the eighteenth-century writers she discusses, is to explain the way in which works of art can carry conviction even though they are not what they represent. With respect to the novel, she takes as central examples of the interplay of truth and falsehood the *faux-mémorial* and the *faux-philosophe* (claimed to be "real", not a novel. They appear to

later and decided to put their son Isaac to study with Hilliard.

Although it is his fate to be written about together, Hilliard and Oliver are always judged apart. Carl Walter, who said that they were as different as English chalk and foreign cheese, wrote that "It is hardly possible to appreciate them equally at any one moment". Walpole thought that Hilliard's only merit was to have brought out the genius of Oliver. More recently the palm has been awarded to Hilliard for embodying a truly English mode of vision. As the current exhibition in the Victoria and Albert Museum shows, the assessment of their relative stature continues to excite debate. The more we know about the two artists the more apparent becomes the gap between their interests, their patronage and their intentions. This book, by systematizing and enhancing that knowledge, gives a fuller background to this fascinating and continuing exercise in aesthetic discrimination.

try to create an illusion in the reader . . . to make him make a mistake.

The reader's conviction, Hobson thinks, is gained through a sense of authenticity, the belief that mere invention has been excluded; subsequently conviction might be gained in the reverse way, by parodying the pretence of realism - the most brilliant example of which she discusses is Diderot's *Le Religieux*: the memoir of a captive nun is presented as a novel, with a commentary which documents the facts of how the novel came to be written, but within the commentary Diderot makes insertions which undermine the reliability of the documents.

But our conviction in a novel is not a matter of our being mistaken or nearly mistaken about what the author believes. It is a matter of the interest in what is said and how it is said - including the interest of entertaining attitudes, uncertainties, or contradictory attitudes. The animal fabliaux of La Fontaine, for instance, do not gain conviction because we imagine they are told by a credulous simpleton (as Marmontel would have it) or by an incredulous sophisticate (Boileau) - seventeenth and eighteenth-century views which are not really challenged when they are cited by a scholar, but because of their metaphorical suggestiveness and also perhaps because they reassess us, extending rationality to beasts and curtailing brute force by wit.

Most of the problems of this book can be traced back to its linking of artistic conviction to notions of truth. For example, in his account of Fragonard's painting "Corneille and Calistote", Diderot has described having a dream of being in Plato's cave and seeing the picture as an image cast on the wall in front of the prisoners. Hobson writes:

In Platonic terms, art is twice separated from reality because it imitates the world which is itself imitation. But in Diderot's dream it is not shadows of reality seen in a cave, but shadows of puppets, a mystification. The Platonic hierarchy has been doubled back all: dissimulation of which art is only one kind.

But Plato's shadows are of puppets too - reproductions of men or animals in wood or stone; and surely his allegory of the cave is also "doubled back" - it is an image which insists on its own status and has as its topic the relation of images to reality. The difference which Hobson's remarks suggest is perhaps this: Plato uses analogies with purpose, of showing us something about our relation to the world; for him, analogizing is not valued for itself. But for Diderot it is valued for itself, no mere means to knowledge but the very subject and interest of the mind. The difference indicates two ways in which we might disprove ourselves towards our own thought.

There is a great deal which is suggestive in Dr Hobson's book, but its notions of truth and illusion are too loosely formulated to provide either an argument or a firm viewpoint from which to survey the material.

NEW HISTORY BOOKS

The Fascist Challenge and the Policy of Appeasement

Edited by Lothar Keffenaeker and Wolfgang J. Mommsen

Written by some of the outstanding experts in the field, a collection of essays on the origins of the Second World War which takes a fresh look at the political options open to the Western powers in their dealings with Fascist regimes.
448 pp. Hardback \$18.50

The Chancelleries of Europe

Alan Palmer

From the first departure of the British Foreign Secretary for a summit conference on the continent in 1813 to Prime Minister Wilson and his open diplomacy 106 years later, Alan Palmer traces the path of chancellery diplomacy and the reasons behind its ultimate failure.
286 pp. Hardback \$18.50

European Armies and the Conduct of War

Hew Strachan

An examination of the theory and practice of land warfare in Europe since 1700 in the context of social and political change.
224 pp. Hardback \$16.00

States of Mind: A Study of Anglo-Irish Conflict 1780-1980

Oliver MacDonagh

A typically original and imaginative study by Professor MacDonagh which shows the interplay of professional and laymen alike. In fact, of every intelligent and compassionate observer of the Anglo-Irish imbroglio today.
189 pp. Hardback \$11.95

Gallipoli Correspondent: The Front Line Diary of C. E. W. Bean

Selected and Annotated by Kevin Fewster

A fascinating first-hand account of Gallipoli for anyone interested in the First World War and the Australian role in it, and in the relationship between war correspondents and the armed forces they are reporting.
217 pp. Hardback \$12.50

The World of the Italian Renaissance

E. R. Chamberlain

New paperback format. *plentifully illustrated, in colour, illustrating the representative life of every country the feeling of the period.*

The Times Educational Supplement
320 pp. Paperback \$6.95

Price one penny (plus postage) per copy

George Allen & Unwin (Publishers) Ltd
PO Box 16, Park Lane, London W1P 2AT

Giving them the tools

Lawrence Freedman

NICOLE BALL and MILTON LEITENBERG (Editors).

The Structure of the Defence Industry: An International Survey 372pp. Croom Helm. £17.95. 0 7099 1611 6

GAVIN KENNEDY

Defense Economics 248pp. Duckworth. £19.50 (paperback, £7.95). 0 7156 1687 0

INGEMAR DÖRFER

Arms Deal: The Selling of the F-16 287pp. New York: Praeger. 0 03 062369 3

JOHN EDWARDS

Superweapon: the Making of MX 287pp. Norton. £12.25. 0 393 01523 8

C. A. SORRELS

US Cruise Missile Programs: Development, Deployment and Implications for Arms Control 250pp. Oxford: Brassey. £29.50

The manufacture and sale of arms has never been considered a wholesome way of making large profits. It creates a perverse stake in tension, crisis and war which inevitably encourages a widespread suspicion that the arms manufacturers habitually seek to promote the very events that the rest of the international community are so anxious to prevent. The critiques of the "merchants of death" that had been fashionable in the 1930s returned in the 1960s during the Vietnam War, this time directed against the "military industrial complex" or the "Permanent Arms Industry". More recently there have been suggestions that the nuclear arms race would have been abandoned years ago were it not for the need of the US aerospace companies (and their Soviet counterparts) for a steady stream of new projects.

Anybody who has observed the skill and determination with which the main defence contractors seize on every opportunity to promote their wares, cannot dismiss such notions lightly.

Explaining the other side

Otto Pick

EDWARD N. LUTTWAK

The Grand Strategy of the Soviet Union 242pp. Weldonfeld and Nicolson. £12.95. 0 297 78217 7

The Centre for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University in Washington, where the author of this book is Senior Fellow, provides much of the intellectual content of the Reagan Administration's foreign policy. Edward Luttwak's book is a contribution to the study of the Soviet Union's grand strategy in just the way that the hard-line approach currently in fashion in Washington derives its main strength from its grasp of historical analogy and from the lucid manner in which he presents his case. It is, in many ways, a curious case.

Dr Luttwak dismisses out of hand the notion that Soviet policy is motivated by ideology. He argues that the political leadership in Moscow consists of tired, disappointed, men demoralized by chronic economic failure, whose ideological zeal has long since been eroded by their enjoyment of the fruits of power, their preoccupation with manipulating the system and by the hopeless task of making the economy work. This may or may not be true, but to discount the ideological factor completely is to ignore a major formative influence on the Soviet decision-making process.

With the larger military orders the state. One does not have to be a conspiracy theorist to recognize the influence of such factors on governments; what is necessary is to keep it in perspective.

The collection of essays on the structure of defence industries gathered by Nicole Ball and Milton Leitenberg provides a useful starting-point. The core of the book is nine essays on individual countries - East, West and non-aligned - plus a broad look at developing countries by Herbert Wulf and a statistical appendix on the United Kingdom (as a substitute for an undelivered manuscript). The contributors, including authorities like David Holloway on the Soviet Union and Sidney Jammes on China, were asked to provide hard information on such matters as the industrial organization of the defence industry and its relation to the rest of the economy, and by and large they have obliged.

If there is an underlying motive, it is to assess the extent to which the industrial factor would provide both an economic and political barrier to disarmament. This is brought out clearly in an introductory chapter by Frank Blackaby. Blackaby obviously thinks military spending generally wasteful, but he is careful not to exaggerate its malign effects. His view that radical disarmament need not pose insuperable economic problems tends to be supported by the chapters on individual countries. On the other hand, a few of the authors seem to expect this issue to arise. Edward Kolodziej concludes his thorough study of France: "For the foreseeable future, and for compelling strategic economic and political reasons, the French arms industry is here to stay."

The Ball and Leitenberg collection is useful primarily for the range of countries it considers. As the editors admit in their introduction, a substantial amount of information and analysis is already available on the major Western powers. Gavin Kennedy provides an admirable guide through this literature as he examines the economic dimension to the defence debate. He takes on many of the Marxist and other radical critics of the defence sector, pointing out the tension between those who argue that it has become essential for the functioning of modern capitalism, and

those who argue that it is, if anything, dysfunctional.

Many of the critics assume defence spending to be inherently undesirable, in contrast to other forms of public expenditure. Kennedy argues that when it comes to inhibiting productive investment, all public expenditure on non-market activities has much the same effect, and that to single defence out is a value judgment. Thus, it has become the inevitable response by the left to criticism of the cost of any social project to look to a reallocation of funds from the defence budget. Conservatives often make a similar mistake: they are happy to argue for defence spending as a spur to the rest of the economy contrary to their general view about the depressing effects of government spending.

Kennedy also notes the lack of evidence to support the proposition that economic interests shape the overall defence and foreign policies of a nation. Looking at the United States, he finds that the "military-industry complex" is by no means dominant in American industry, "though particular defense contractors may dominate particular industries, such as aircraft and missiles". But even in these areas the economic power of the manufacturers is not that great and cannot explain the considerable influence that has been exercised by these firms.

Such explanations require a political rather than an economic analysis. Fortunately, there is now a wealth of case studies on individual weapons projects. The combination of high budgets, high security and high politics is irresistible. It tells us something about contemporary military affairs that we now have far more biographies of modern weapons than of modern generals.

Of the three new studies under review, that by Ingemar Dörfer has been the most eagerly awaited. After some extraordinarily thorough research, Dörfer is able to tell the story of how in 1975 General Dynamics sold F-16 fighter aircraft to Denmark, Norway, Belgium and the Netherlands. This is not a story of a monopolistic supplier forcing the hand of government, but of rough competition between corporations from a number of countries. It has to be said that for all its merits this is not the easiest of books to read, partly because of the unfamiliarity of the main characters and the technicality of the issues

involved, but also because of Dörfer's style. The problem is not so much that he is a Swede writing in English, but that in his research he has picked up the idiom of the aerospace industry and this tends to jar.

In his description of the complex decision-making Dörfer brings out the importance of industrial and technical considerations, but his most important conclusion is that, in the end, these took second place to high policy. For the smaller European countries, the eventual choice between the American F-16 and the French Mirage appeared as one of NATO loyalty versus European unity. Dörfer concludes: "National security and foreign policy more than money and employment were the primary concerns of the political leadership in the end."

An easier book to read is John Edwards' study of the history of the M-X ICBM. The USAF and Martin Marietta have certainly been persistent in keeping this project going despite all its setbacks. However, again the key decisions reflect strategic and political judgments and were often taken despite economic and technical considerations. What is remarkable about the M-X is the extent to which a decade of strikingly futile, even farcical, decision-making was inspired by a highly dubious concept of nuclear strategy. This asserted that even if the Soviet Union lacked the ability to destroy all of America's means of retaliation in a first strike, it could still be dangerous if one key component - the land-based ICBMs - became vulnerable to surprise attack. So the key word became "survivability", and Congressmen and administrators searched for a way to deploy the missile to protect it from the worst the USSR could throw against it. To complicate matters further, such a scheme had to conform to the demands of an arms control regime. The Russians had to be able to find M-X to a sufficient extent to verify its numbers, but not to the extent of being able to target it successfully.

Literally hundreds of schemes for M-X were considered throughout the 1970s. As soon as one was agreed, profound practical objections caused it to be discarded. Edwards' main interest is with the decision of the Carter Administration to opt for a horrendous multiple shelter scheme, at a potential cost of tens of billions of dollars. He shows how the multi-

plication of uncertainties almost overwhelmed the careful and elaborate analysis of the Pentagon. The eventual cost estimate was "pulled out of the air". A missile with a large diameter was chosen, despite the extra problems this posed for mobility, because the Air Force wanted to undermine the Carter and Presidential Adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, was impressed by size.

The pace of the adoption and the rejection of new basing modes quickened with the coming of the Reagan Administration. Although he anticipates this development, Edwards' narrative ends before the matter has reached in late 1982, with the choice of the "Dense Pack" system, in which the missiles are placed sufficiently close to one another to be fired in salvo. The pace of the adoption and the rejection of new basing modes quickened with the coming of the Reagan Administration. Although he anticipates this development, Edwards' narrative ends before the matter has reached in late 1982, with the choice of the "Dense Pack" system, in which the missiles are placed sufficiently close to one another to be fired in salvo.

Charles Sorrels notes in his extensive survey of US cruise missiles that the detailed operational requirements appeared rather belatedly "because of the combination of high-level political support that removed the program from its initial procedural steps in defining requirements and the lack of expertise or sometimes hostility within the services". The services were held back because of the threat this would pose to their most prized programmes - such as aircraft carrier for the Navy and tactical aircraft for the Air Force.

Sorrels' book is very much for a specialist, who will find it a valuable source of reference. The comprehensive nature of the material, and the way in which many essentially third-order issues are dealt with, is not always obvious to the general reader. It is not always possible to keep sight of those of the first order - the huge sub-heads such as "The term Upgrades and Advanced Follow-on Systems" and "Penetratingly Aggressive Terminally Defended Targets". Nevertheless, those interested in the technical foundations of some controversial decisions will find much to keep them reading.

Reagan Administration's defence policies by invoking historical parallels and by drawing on theories of power politics - great military empires tend to pursue expansionist goals, and view that Soviet postures are essentially defensive he describes as "dated".

Nevertheless, there is some cause for at least for Americans, in this scenario - the lack of direct contact between the two powerful hostile superpowers and, paradoxically, the benefits which the Soviet Union draws from the United States' mutual antagonism. These extremes do not, however, apply to the Soviet Union's relations with China. On the contrary, the two countries, and long-disputed frontier, and economic terms China has very little to offer the Soviet Union. Moreover, their relationship has been soured by racial antipathy and ideological conflict, and it is here perhaps that Luttwak sees the most obvious danger for the future of world peace.

This tract for our times does not make comfortable reading. Although the analysis is largely intuitive and heavily supported by analogy, its conclusions deserve to be taken into account in any assessment of the Soviet Union's grand strategy. There is no proof that the leaders of the Soviet Union are driven by the motives which Luttwak ascribes to them, but there is also no conclusive evidence to the contrary. As long as this is the case, arguments have to be taken seriously and obviously this is exactly what the Reagan Administration has done.

ALISTAIR DAVIES

An Annotated Critical Bibliography of Modernism 261pp. Brighton: Harvester. £28.50. 0 7108 0031 2

The first essay whose title asked the question "What was Modernism?" appeared in 1960, the work of Harry Levin. The second, by Robert Martin Adams, appeared in 1978. The same question serves as the implicit subtitle of Alistair Davies' useful bibliography.

By modernism Mr Davies means literary modernism in twentieth-century Britain and Ireland, but he also glances beyond the Channel and across the Atlantic. His bibliography is divided into five large sections: an expansive annotated list of general studies of modernism (numbered MOD 1 through MOD 216), followed by four separate lists of studies of Yeats (ending with WBY 103), Wyndham Lewis (WLA7), Lawrence (DHL 167) and Eliot (TSE 128). No explanation is offered for this choice of authors, but a list of forthcoming "Harvester Annotated Critical Bibliographies" in the front of the book includes titles devoted to Joyce and Woolf, to be compiled by other hands.

In his "Advice to the Reader" Davies describes his first section as a list of books and essays that "discuss the concept of literary Modernism, account for its origins, describe its literary context and techniques, analyse its influence on fiction, poetry and drama, assess its importance, examine its philosophical, political and social ideas, and consider its relationship with the other arts". There is no point objecting to this personification of modernism as something that affects literature and has ideas of its own, but is itself neither literature nor an idea; no other writer on the subject has managed to think of a personification any more coherent. What is striking is that Davies attributes to modernism philosophical, political and social ideas, but not psychological ones. This exclusivity extends to the index - which has no entry for the bibliography itself. Davies cites Georg Lukács' critique of modernism's "obsession with pathological and extreme states", but he gives little evidence that modernism was even mildly interested in such things. No one would guess from his list of studies of Lawrence that a furious critical debate ever blew up over the anal sexuality of *Women in Love* and *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, much less that the issue was important to the history and definition of modernism. And although Davies includes a list of studies of the (hypothetical) relations of T. S. Eliot and Jean Verdenal and their psychological consequences, he renders the question illegitimate by setting the list under the rubric "Autobiography and Libel". He closes the section with the strongest antimodernism to be found in the book. "The reader of such speculation", he

Picking through the wreckage

Edward Mendelson

writes of James E. Miller's *T. S. Eliot's Personal Waste Land*, "would do well to recall 'The Dry Salvages'":

To explore the womb, or tomb, or dreams: all these are usual Pastimes and drugs, and features of the press: And always will be, some of them especially When there is distress of nations and perplexity...

Such speculation may in fact deserve better than this. Miller's book recently gained strong circumstantial corroboration in an essay by Erwin R. Steinberg in the March *Journal of Modern Literature*. Steinberg uses evidence from Virginia Woolf's diaries and letters to argue that the psychological world of *Septimus Warren Smith* in *Mrs Dalloway* is modelled on what Eliot told Woolf about himself at the time the novel was being written.

Biographical approaches to modernist literature have been in bad odour ever since the New Critics tossed them on the rubbish heap. But the special kind of impersonal approach espoused, implicitly and explicitly, in Davies' choices and annotations is a product of the very recent past. It is most prominent in the work of critics around the age of thirty or younger. An earlier generation of critics, starting around the 1950s, subjected modernist historical and psychological thought to a corrosive criticism from which it has never recovered. Frank Kermode's demolition job on the "dislocation of sensibility", in *Romantic Image*, is a classic and still powerful example of one form of reaction against modernist theories. The almost universal embarrassment felt over Lawrence's fantasies of male dominance is another. The critics of the younger generation who now react again in the modernists' favour are usually wise enough to avoid any effort at a direct rebuttal. (The incoherence of *The Cantos*, for example, is no longer seriously disputed outside the Poundian fan-magazines.) Instead they treat the modernist movement as an advanced postgraduate seminar in philosophy with a special interest in epistemology and linguistics. And dissertations begin to appear with careful demonstrations that the ideas of the "objective correlative", long regarded in some quarters as a figure of fun, make excellent philosophical sense.

But while this strategy succeeds in making modernism more interesting to severe-minded graduate students, it risks making it less interesting to everyone else. The new icon of Eliot-as-philosopher may be more sturdy than the outward figure of Eliot-as-sage, but neither is as convincing or instructive as Eliot the ironic, inarticulate pilgrim in quest of an elusive religious peace. Such a figure deserves criticism more subtle and concrete than recent theoretical methods have been able to provide. Any criticism that hopes to answer the complexity and contradictions of modernism must acknowledge the array of personal uniqueness that went into

the larger movement. And it must acknowledge the force of critical questions that resist philosophical system-building - problems like the relation of author's experience to his choices of rhetoric and form, and the relation in turn of those choices to his later experience. Auden remarked that Eliot had mystical visions of which he never spoke while Yeats never had them and talked about them all the time. The distinction matters, but neither the New Critics tracing out ironies nor the post-structuralists *mettant en abyme* have the means of understanding it.

The philosophical approach does at least have the merit of acknowledging what one of Davies' subject headings calls "The Critique of Modernism" - a category he divides into lists covering "The Limits of Modernism" and "The Marxist Critique of Modernism". Thirty years ago a bibliography of modern literature would probably have ignored these dissenting voices. In Davies' book the note of disaffection sounds from start to finish. The very first entry in the bibliography describes Edmund Wilson's *Axel's Castle* as "suspicious of the withdrawal from life, the denial of reason, the reactionary rejection of belief in progress and in history" that characterized symbolism and persisted into the modern movement. And the bibliography as a whole displays few traces of the old confidence that used to see literary modernism as one of the stronger currents in a mighty torrent of renewal in society and the arts. The modernist impetus was - once - the force that would level unruly cities and rebuild them as gleaming towers, the force that would erase pictorial representation and reveal the abstract patterns that lay beneath flawed particularities, the force that would silence the mere satisfaction of melody and give voice to the stringencies of the twelve-tone row, and the force that would transform a social disorder of conflict and striving into an eternal order of myth where primitive impulse would find political form and public hierarchy would at last reflect private worth.

Today that vision looks more like a waste land than anything it was intended to replace. But the younger writers who choose to salvage its philosophical aspects from the prevailing wreckage do it more honour than those who prefer to recall the modernist vision through the lenses of nostalgic fantasy. Hugh Kenner's *The Pound Era*, the book that best exemplifies this approach, receives this debt annotation from Davies:

The modernist writer set free the latent energies of language, creating the future by renewing the inherited modes of feeling and thought of past European civilisation. The study, however, is elegiac: the world the "men of 1914" hoped to create is no longer possible.

The truth is that it was never possible. But a nostalgic critic finds it more comforting to place the blame on the Great War or the banks or the

bourgeoisie or any other malignant and recalcitrant power than to admit the vision was delusive from the start.

Davies' choice of authors indicates that he takes it for granted that literary modernism has come to an end - an assumption that seems less polemical every day. About the beginnings of modernism his assumptions are somewhat more polemical. His opening section is titled "Modernism and Romanticism", implicitly favouring the historical interpretations of later critics over those of the modernists themselves, who preferred to speak of their work as a rejection of the Victorian and romantic past and as a revival of renaissance or archaic modes. Davies may find less critical consensus, however, over another of his subject headings, "The American Origins of Modernism", especially as the books and essays listed there do not make quite the argument his rubric implies.

Elsewhere, Davies' organization and comments are a model of tact and good sense. He calls attention to intelligent writing hidden behind obscure imprints or buried in catch-all anthologies. He prefers to be generous in his assessments, but is not dazzled by big names. And he is careful to give equal time to wildly contradictory opinions: for example, Northrop Frye judging Wyndham Lewis an "almost solipsistic writer" while William H. Pritchard, a few entries later, praises his "objectivity and insight".

Davies is less careful over bibliographical detail. He explains that he uses a chronological arrangement within each section "so that the reader might follow more easily the development of a critical discussion or idea". But he generally neglects the first publication of important essays in periodicals and lists only their later appearance in book form. The history of some ideas is consequently muted. Davies ignores, for example, the famous first publication of Joseph Frank's "Spatial Form in Modern Literature", in the *Sewanee Review* in 1945 and its even better-known appearance in R. W. Stallman's anthology *Critiques and Essays in Criticism* in 1949. Instead he lists only its publication in a collection by Frank published as late as 1963. An essay that opened a continuing debate in modern criticism is thus made to seem a minor and belated comment from the floor. Davies also omits the various challenges to the essay and Frank's replies. Harry Levin's "What was Modernism?" is first cited as appearing in a 1962 anthology edited by Stanley Burnshaw and then in one of Levin's books. But Lionel Trilling's "On the Teaching of Modern Literature", which appeared in the same anthology (under a variant title), is cited only in its appearance in one of Trilling's books. Both essays, in fact, had first appeared in quarterlies a few years earlier still.

Trilling's "On the Teaching of Modern Literature" is cited in quarterlies a few years earlier still. "The Culture of Modernism" is cited from a book by Howe published in 1971. Howe's 1967 anthology, *The Idea of the Modern*, for which the essay

served as an introduction, is not listed at all, although it contains some important essays not mentioned in the bibliography. Davies' spellings of names should be treated with caution. Some are garbled enough to make it impossible to find the correct version in a library catalogue - Kathleen Knott (a Beckettian coinage) for Nott, Helen Reguerio for Reguero.

The index, cunningly devised to achieve the greatest possible confusion and the least possible convenience, is divided into no less than ten alphabetical listings - with separate subject and author lists for each of the book's five sections. The only conceivable excuse for this is to protect a researcher hunting for material on Yeats's views on women (or whatever) from cluttering his mind with Lawrence's views. But even this excuse has no merit. All the entries in the bibliography have coded prefixes identifying the section in which they appear, and no one will be distracted by DHL 18 if he is determined to find his way to WBY 46. And because the subject indexes include the names of some writers who also figure in the author indexes, it is necessary to search through all ten lists in order to find every reference to, say, Robert Graves or Ivor Winters. Even then, one will miss some references, as the anthologies of criticism included in the bibliography are indexed selectively and erratically.

The selections and annotations are better done. They immortalize few examples of silliness or dryness, while committing few obvious omissions. Some of the apparent omissions are in fact phantasms present by virtue of their inclusion in anthologies described by Davies in summary form. Inevitably, and through no fault of the compiler, every knowledgeable reader will note some further items that should have been in. Two that would have especially suited Davies' purposes are J. P. Stern's *On Realism* (1973), whose long paragraph on pages 91-92 does more to define the limits of modernism than most of the books and essays listed under that heading, and Randall Jarrell's brief essay, "The End of the Line", which answered the question, "What was modernism?", and knew the question had to be asked in the past tense, as early as 1942.

British Poets, 1880-1914, edited by Donald E. Stanford (486pp. Detroit: Gale. \$76. 0 8103 1700 1), is Volume 19 of the *Dictionary of Literary Biography*. For each of forty-three poets writing during the period - from Lascelles Abercrombie to Yeats - it supplies a list of their major works, an essay by an academic specialist on the life, critical reception and subsequent evaluation of the poetry, with portraits and other illustrations, select bibliographies of biographical and critical books and articles and, for many, notes on the location of manuscripts. The volume closes with a cumulative index to all writers covered in the *Dictionary of Literary Biography* Volumes 1-19.

August Books from Yale

Shadows in the Grass

Britain in the Southern Sudan, 1918-1956

Robert O. Collins

One of the foremost scholars of the Sudan portrays the transitional years of British imperial rule in the area by describing in lively detail the efforts of the colonial government to develop the foundations of a modern society. £30.00

Chekhov

A Study of the Four Major Plays

Richard Peace

Peace looks at the plays in the context of the Russian dramatic tradition extending back to the eighteenth century. He analyses the many literary echoes in Chekhov's art, both Russian and non-Russian; and he relates the plays to the political and social climate of late nineteenth-century Russia. £12.00

Origin and Originality in Renaissance Literature

Vernon of the Source

David Quinn

Quinn surveys the classical, biblical, and patristic traditions

that surround the idea of the universal source, a favourite theme of Renaissance literature. £18.00

Aristides Quintilianus on Music

In Three Books

Aristides Quintilianus

Translation by Thomas J. Mathiesen

This is the first English translation of a treatise that has intrigued students of ancient Greek music, theory, philosophy, and metrics for centuries. £24.50

White Collar Crime

The Unsettled Version

Edwin Sutherland

Introduction by Gilbert Gels and Collin Goff

This classic study of corporate crime in America is now available for the first time - with names and case studies of the offenders included. £27.00

Man, The Promising Primate

The Conditions of Human Evolution. Second Edition

Peter J. Wilson

In the preface and appendix written for this edition, Peter Wilson has clarified and updated certain points in his argument. Cloth £22.50 Paper £6.95

Indian Summer

Lutyens, Baker, and Imperial Delhi

Robert Grant Irving

"A richly detailed, utterly absorbing study in architectural politics, principles, and practice." - Marina Vaizey, *The Sunday Times* 180 b & w illus. + 95 colour plates. Paper £9.95

The Heroin Solution

Arnold S. Trebach

"Clearly a masterpiece." - H. B. Spear, Chief Inspector, Drugs Branch, Home Office. Paper £7.95

Semiotics and Interpretation

Robert Scholes

Paper £4.95

Ideology and Development in Africa

Crawford Young

Paper £9.95

Details of these and other paperbacks published this month are available on request.

Yale University Press

13 Bedford Square, London WC1B 3JP

Behind the lines

Robert Hewison

"There is no such thing as a typical Arvon Foundation course." So I was sternly warned when I was permitted to infiltrate a five-day residential session last month. There can be no typical Arvon Foundation course for there are forty of them taking place this year, at two centres in utterly different landscapes, at Totleigh Barton, a thatched manor house in Devon, and Lumb Bank, an eighteenth-century mill-owner's house above Hebden Bridge in Yorkshire. The course subjects vary from "Poetry" to "Creative Television" to "Songs on and off the Page", but they all exist to unlock the creative potential that the educational system has neglected, even crushed.

"Creative Writing", with its echoes of unfinished autobiographical novels and housewives' rhymes, has an uncomfortable place in our official culture. The academics frown on it, the professionals patronize it, the Arts Council gives it half-hearted support. Yet all over the country there are little knots of people huddled together reading each other their work. Some are attending courses organized by local authorities or the Workers' Educational Association; others belong to groups that have formed almost spontaneously, out of a need to share the secret desire to write. They are one of the hopes for the survival of a literary culture.

The Arvon Foundation, thanks to its expertise and the support of the Arts Council and Regional Arts Associations, has become recognized as one of the *hautes écoles* of creative writing. It was formed in 1969 by two poets, John Mair and John Fairfax, who set the pattern at Totleigh Barton by arranging courses in which two practising writers spend five days with a group of up to sixteen people. The poet Ted Hughes became interested in their work, and in 1975 his own house, Lumb Bank, was opened as a second centre. In winter the Foundation runs "closed" courses tailored to the needs of a particular institution—a sixth-form group, for instance—but from March to October the courses are open to all-comers. The pattern remains the same: the delicate chemistry of two

professional writers and sixteen people of totally unpredictable experience and ability.

I chose to go to Lumb Bank to take a course on "Fiction and Narrative", which promised to concentrate on "the requirements of genre fiction". Since there is no typical course, there are no typical participants either. The tutors—there was no means of avoiding that pedagogic term—were Dulan Barter and John Harvey, who carry with them the fictional identities of a dozen pseudonyms, for between them they have published almost a hundred titles in the field of thrillers, westerns, suspense and occult stories and teenage fiction. Though they had not previously worked together, both are from the pool of some 350 writers who regularly contribute. John Harvey has the added distinction of having been an Arvon student during his literary apprenticeship. The novels of "James Mann", "J.B. Dancer", "Thom Ryder" and "Sally-Jane Silver", among others, help to support John Harvey's poetry magazine, *Slow Dancer*.

There were seven men and nine women on the course, their ages ranging from early thirties to late sixties. One had already published three historical romances, others had published in a small way, one had written nothing since distant adolescence. Two were journalists (including myself), several were in teaching, and two men had taken to writing after the shock of executive redundancy in middle life. Both women and men were glad to escape clogging domestic routine (and in some cases the loneliness of retirement). For five days we were to be pitched into the forced intimacy of shared rooms, shared meals and shared washing up.

There was an understandable degree of polite nervousness as we assembled for our first meal; there was much passing of the quiche and jolting of glasses of water. (Later, wine and beer turned out to be for sale.) But after supper the atmosphere changed completely when the tutors invited each of us to say why we were there. Regardless of relative achievement, each person had come because he or

she really wanted to write. Some had completed novels and wanted to know if they were any good; others (including the published novelist) were stuck and wanted the stimulus of the course to set them off. Some wanted criticism, others discipline, and each was both pleased and relieved to discover that there was no need to apologize for trying to put words on paper.

The atmosphere changed again the following evening, when Dulan Barter and John Harvey read from their own work. "There is no set form for an Arvon course, but Barter and Harvey were determined that there should be a constant pressure of group work. (A recent Radio 4 documentary on Lumb Bank seemed to suggest that a lot of time was idled away down at the pub.) They set a heavy schedule for themselves: on the first day they saw everyone individually to discuss their aims, and set specific tasks. Some emerged from these discussions feeling bruised, but I found myself working on a piece of fiction I had thought about for years. They also offered to read any material we had brought with us, and that meant tackling several manuscript novels. That evening they read their own work and invited comments. It was fascinating to see the extent to which verisimilitude was regarded by the students as a sufficient criterion for narrative. "It was just like that" was the highest praise. It was also fascinating to hear two genre novelists admit that literary and even mythic devices underpinned their apparently innocent narratives.

The course itself turned out to be as skilfully crafted as the tutors' popular fiction. It was plain that there were insufficient specialists to run a course on specific genres, so it became a general study of prose writing. The second day began with a game of literary consequences. We were all given an opening sentence to extend into a paragraph. It was a kick-start to the imagination, a challenge to directness, and it set minds running on lines never explored before. The humour of the game also accustomed us to reading our raw material aloud.

The game, however, led to an exercise, for we were then given a

choice of opening sentences from a dozen distinguished short stories, and told to have our continuations ready to read that evening. The variety of themes and voices heard that night was surprising, especially when they sprang from the same sentence. The criticism was general, but gentle. The next step was to launch out on one's own with an original short story. Here the tutors for once constrained us, for we were given as models two very short stories from Jayne Anne Phillips's *Black Tickets*, and told to write not more than 500 words. The results were a lesson, if not always a success.

None of the course work was compulsory, and we were free to spend our days as we chose. An ex-teacher so valued her one week's holiday of the year that she got up at six every morning in order to write. The tutors, who seemed to have a voracious appetite for both talking and reading, continued their work on individual projects. As far as I can tell each of us received the same care and enthusiasm.

Lumb Bank sits high above a narrow wooded valley, from which thrust the chimneys of abandoned silk mills, as picturesque as Gothic follies. A path up the other side of the valley invited solitary walks, and since the weather was good, people dispersed all over the house and gardens, coming together only for the evening meal and readings. Throughout the day the air was full of the unselfconscious sound of beating typewriters.

Since there is no typical Arvon course, it is difficult to generalize about their quality. So much depends on the tutors, who must create the programme as they go along. There appear to be only two rules: never say that a piece of work is worthy of publication, for that can lead to disappointment; never tell someone their case is hopeless, for that brutally guarantees the same thing. Since it is an absolute rule that the courses are filled on a first-come, first-served basis, there is no knowing how the sixteen will interact. Because of the compelling nature of our educational system too many people on this course wanted to know the rules of creative

writing. There was an earnest desire for market information, for tips on how to get published, as though there was a secret code. Messrs Barter and Harvey are the least pretentious people, but there was almost an element of hem-tucking about their advice.

There is one general accusation made, not so much against the Arvon Foundation, as the whole creative writing movement. It is that creative writing people will write without knowing what they are doing, and that they will tell you that they are doing it. This is not true. I have known people who have written without knowing what they are doing, and I have known people who have written with a clear sense of what they are doing. The difference is that the latter are always one person there to talk to, while the former are always one person there to write. (For that matter, neither Barter nor Totleigh Barton has the organic reputation of University residential courses; the therapeutic effect was there—a woe because she had conveyed one else's problems in a story—was surprising how many (during violent deaths there were during the week) had imaginative writing (a thing without emotion, and therefore few less harmful means to release.

The most encouraging aspect of the course was the mutual pitying respect afforded to each other's sixteen disparate people in one conditions. (The barrack accommodation for the men was abysmal.) In a sense of community was achieving, or any evangelical heartiness, was this that will have had the effect. Those who are going to write, writing, possibly professional, will do so anyway, but they will know that their work is valued. Those who do not go on will have had chance to discover what imaginative writing requires. Either way, all discovered that while writing is an occupation, you need not feel like

The Centre Directors at Lumb Bank are Maura Dooley and David Hume. Their address is Lumb Bank, Hebden Bridge, 11X7 6DF, West Yorkshire. The Centre Directors at Totleigh Barton are Sue and Simon Wilson. Their address is Totleigh Barton, Devon EX21 5NS.

The periodicals, 2: Akros

J. C. McGaskar

DUNCAN GLEN
Akros, Volume 17 No 50
136pp, £2.30.
25 Johns Road, Radcliffe-on-Trent,
Nottingham

Akros was founded seventeen years ago by its editor, Duncan Glen, and until now has appeared three-yearly, one of the major outlets for new Scottish poetry, with an emphasis on work written in Scots. The fifteenth issue is described by the editor as both an end and a beginning, since from now on Akros will be appearing only once a year. The loss will be the regular appearance of one of the few journals prepared to publish long critical articles on contemporary Scottish poetry; no doubt, also, there will be less opportunity for special numbers such as the recent one on Edwin Muir. But as a beginning what can we hope for?

As an editor, Glen has always been in danger of taking some of the more eccentric advice of his mentor, Hugh MacDiarmid, at face value. MacDiarmid never had much time for fiction, neither does Glen; MacDiarmid encouraged poets to follow his own example and found magazines in which they could publish their own work, which is precisely what Glen has done and continues to do. This issue opens with a twelve-page poem by him, proceeds by way of more of his poems, takes in a long manifesto disguised as a conversation with an interlocutor identified only as MI ("me"), and ends with a résumé of his achievements. Moreover, each of the four writers given the brief to write on Scottish poetry between 1965 and 1981 contrives to die. Duncan Glen, one wonders what would be the likelihood

of this happening. In the present issue is "The Scottish Literature in Scotland" by David Campbell, which shows this year's confident critic in good form. He is a startling point in the "acknowledging morale" which the country as a whole suffered following the failure of a 1979 referendum on devolution to establish a Scottish Assembly. He proceeds to tackle the novelists of Massie for a comment made in his discussion to the effect that "Campbell knows better than I pretend to the justice of Massie's remark, which is a reference to peculiar political disabilities of Scotland, rather than an insult to the people or the writer." Massie is used as a whipping boy, as Campbell's mightiest forceful rebuttal of his own headstrongness. Campbell's response, however, when he leaps from a reasonable remark to the importance of *Lennox* to the most influential novel since *Rob Roy*.

Campbell concludes that the Scottish literature is in a state of crisis, and that it is an anxiety to the Scottish literature in its work. By the highest standards to be applied, *Akros* will help to bring anxiety, by placing Scotland at the centre of European literature. It is a pity that the editor might be generating a

POSTAGE: INLAND 10p
SECOND-CLASS POSTAGE AND PERMIT NO. 427
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017
ALFRED A. KNOPF, INC.
150 E. 57th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

The Nature of Chance

Sir, — Frank Goodridge (Letters, August 12) has put his finger on an important point when he raises the question of what physicists mean by chance and accident. I should like to discuss it from the standpoint of the classical physicist (before the advent of quantum theory) and of the modern physicist. Laplace pointed out that if one knew exactly the position and velocity of every atom, one could in principle predict the whole future of the universe, down to the smallest detail. In classical physics there was no chance or accident from this severely mathematical point of view. However, we don't and can't ever know enough to make this prediction, and feel justified to refer to certain occurrences as accidents—they follow by a perfectly deterministic route from an initial state of which we are largely ignorant. Thus, if it may be allowed for simplicity that all genetic mutations are caused by fast particles from radioactive decay striking DNA molecules, we haven't the faintest idea whose gonads are to be the recipient of this curse or blessing, which may take a myriad of forms. Nor can we say how the future will unfold. Since no one, I think, believes that the evolutionary process from simple cells to present-day fauna could have followed one path uniquely, I feel quite justified in regarding it as a hit-and-miss affair, like a gigantic pin-ball game, for both of which I may believe the basic laws of physics to be deterministic.

But, like all modern physicists, I don't believe in fact they are deterministic. There is overwhelming evidence that the radioactive decay I mentioned takes place without any immediate cause; the nucleus will emit a particle some time, but we have no means of finding when. In this case, as in all quantum phenomena, there is no question of conducting a Laplacean operation of finding exactly where everything is in the nucleus and pinpointing the immediate cause. Quantum mechanics has made it abundantly clear that we cannot obtain the evidence without completely upsetting the system, and that this enforced ignorance is an essential feature of the theory (Heisenberg's Uncertainty Principle). We are permitted to calculate the probability that the particle will be emitted at various times, and such calculations are experimentally verified. When the physicist talks about chance, he doesn't mean that anything might happen—rather that he can assign a probability to all the possible outcomes. Sometimes only one or two outcomes are possible, sometimes a continuous range, and if we repeat the experiment over and over again we shall find out how often each possibility turns up. It is this that is calculated by quantum mechanics, but which it will be on any given occasion is beyond conjecture. The superb calculating instrument is inapplicable in human terms. Why the rules of physics are the rules of gaming has worried philosophical physicists since 1927, and it seems unlikely that anything short of a totally new way of looking at the world can resolve the problem.

BRIAN PIPPARD,
Cavendish Laboratory, Madingley Road, Cambridge.

The Oxford Shakespeare

Sir, — It is kind of William P. Williams (Letters, August 19) to be so concerned about the commercial prospects of the Oxford Shakespeare. A series such as this takes some time to establish itself, and, naturally, I hope that this one will do so. As he remarks, it faces a lot of competition, but we believe that our editors have new things to communicate, and Nigel Alexander's generous review (July 29) appears to confirm this. Professor Williams has already made public his dismay that our edition is not in old English in the pages of his journal *Philology* and *Numismatic Bibliography*. But he will not further his cause by attacks upon responsible moderniza-

tion. I agree with his implication that the line between modernizing and emending is not always easy to draw, which is why I wrote the essay to which he refers. "Ancient" meaning "ensign" is a problematical word, but no one can deny that its primary meaning in *Henry V* is "ensign", or that OED describes it straightforwardly as a corruption of that word. "Early forms of which, like *ensigne*, *ensigne*, were confounded with *ancien*, *ancien*", or that that corruption is actively misleading to most readers and playgoers of the present day. In any case, as Williams appears to object to modernization *per se*, there seems no point in arguing with him over individual examples.

Nor is this the place for a detailed argument over the respective claims of old and modern spelling, but one might enquire whether he expects actors to work from old-spelling editions, or whether he would prefer the plays not to be performed at all. And anyone who, following his advice, reads Laura Riding's and Robert Graves's essay on Sonnet 129 would do well also to read Stephen Booth's exposure (in his edition of the sonnets) of its "palpable garbles" and "textual sanctimony". I believe that a genuine, if limited, function is served by old-spelling editions. I am, with my editorial team, engaged in preparing an edition of the complete works in which Pistol will remain both Ancient and Aunchient. We have so far edited over half the works in both the spelling and punctuation of their original, primary editions and in modernized form. The plan is to publish both editions simultaneously as soon as we can. Professor Williams complains that one "never hears... officially" that this edition is in progress. I can only reply that he has not been listening in the right places. I will send him a copy of a widely distributed leaflet in which the annual editorial staff made; he could also have read of it in the Preface to Gary Taylor's edition of *Henry V*, to which he refers.

STANLEY WELLS,
The Oxford Shakespeare, 40 Walton Crescent, Oxford.

to the editor

Books from Argentina

Sir, — You have performed an important duty (Commentary, August 19) in bringing to public notice the prohibition on the entry into Britain of books from Argentina.

The people of this country need more information about Argentina, not less. We have already reaped one harvest of ignorance. Must we do so again?

H. S. FERNS,
1 Kesteven Close, Sir Harry's Road, Birmingham.

The Augustan Idea

Sir, — I was very glad to read George Steiner's letter (August 19) about Hermann Broch's *Death of Virgil*. My question, however, was a different one, asking about Augustus' reputation among those authors who, from Sade and Flaubert onwards, "admired rather than reprobated the post-Augustan Emperors (including Tiberius, Caligula and Nero) as types of total self-realization in cruelty".

CLAUDE RAWSON,
Department of English, University of Warwick, Coventry.

'Consequences of Pragmatism'

Sir, — It is as ironic as it is unsurprising that a piece of ignorant and unargued booing against philosophy should come from an economist. Donald McCloskey (Letters, August 19). I shall not attempt here to discuss Richard Rorty's conception of philosophy, which McCloskey cites approvingly, though I doubt that Rorty's conception of the "End of Philosophy" is quite what McCloskey takes it to be, or that it lends support to his view that all philosophy departments should be shut down, the sooner the better. But I feel that—despite the absence of any arguments by McCloskey to support his prejudices—it is important that someone should explain why his opinion that the activity of philosophy constitutes a negative external effect on practitioners of those professions.

There is nothing wrong with negative external effects if they fall on themselves. They inhibit the activities they fall on, but this is a bad thing or a good thing according as those activities are good or bad. The trouble with external effects, in the received theory of which no doubt McCloskey is one of the recipients, is that they threaten the beneficial functioning of a competitive economy. Are we to suppose, then, that McCloskey is suggesting that philosophers should be taxed or otherwise discouraged from philosophizing because that would remove a distortion of the price system?

The proper objective of the sciences, I take it, to increase our understanding of the natural or social world. Thus scientists are concerned with the construction of *true* theories—ones which describe the world as it really is. But the bearers of truth are the sentences of which the scientist's theory is composed; and their truth is a product of two factors—the way the world is, and the meaning possessed by the terms which enter into the sentences in question. Thus truth, in any science, is a function both of its "data" and of its "grammar"—the nature of its basic concepts. For this reason progress in any science requires not only the production and testing of hypotheses, but also that its basic concepts be well understood. And this is a matter in which philosophers are by their training peculiarly suited to help. In its early days, the main problem for a science may be simply to determine what kind of thing its subject-matter is, and what is the best way to study it. Methodological problems are still prominent in anthropology, and a central issue in linguistics is: what kind of thing is a linguistic theory? A description of an abstract object? A model of what goes on inside speakers' heads? At this stage in the development of a science there is an urgent need for scientists and philosophers to collaborate. An example of the fruitfulness of such cooperation is in cognitive psychology, where, for some years now, philosophers have been working alongside psychologists to harness together our best understanding of what kind of thing a mind is (the grammar of mental concepts) with increased knowledge of what human mental processes are actually like, and how they are "realized" in the hardware of the brain.

But of course the pursuit of truth may not be the sole objective of every individual professionally employed as a scientist. If there exists a flourishing

of tens of millions hangs on their answers. Causalist and evidentialist resolutions of the Newcomb dilemma respectively refute and support the New Moretariat argument for laissez-faire that I have sketched. But McCloskey finds what philosophers have to say about rationality a distraction and a bore. He takes succour for intrusion. He would prefer, if not that philosophers be shut up, certainly that they shut up. He would like Economists to be left in peace to embroider theories predicated on what casual answers they please to the begged questions. The sophistry of Economists may shake the world to its foundations, but that is no business, we are told, of those inhabitants of it who do not belong to McCloskey's branch of McCloskey's profession.

MICHAEL BACHARACH,
Christ Church, Oxford.

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu

Sir, — Robert Halsband in his review of my life of the Duke of Wharton, *Hell-Fire Duke* (August 5) disagrees with my assertion that the Duke had a love affair with Mr Halsband's own favourite, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. He calls this an "absurd concoction", "invented" by me. He should have consulted my references before crediting me with such originality. The tradition of the "intimacy" between the Duke and Lady Mary when each was at Twickenham in 1723-24 is mentioned, for instance, by Lewis Melville in 1913, E. R. Wharton in 1896, and Lady Louisa Stuart in 1837. The latter gives a report by the Countess of Pomfret, who had known both the Duke and Lady Mary at Twickenham, that Lady Mary's famous quarrel with Pope had actually been caused because Lady Mary had become so "much acquainted with the Duke of Wharton". My own notes give the few contemporary references to the intimacy. Some are from Halsband's own edition of Lady Mary's letters. She wrote to her sister in February 1725 to say that she had parted from someone who Halsband himself identifies as the Duke: "[He] and I have been quite reconciled and are now quite broke, and I believe not likely to piece up again." On June 10 she continued, "We are broke to an irredeemable degree. Various are the persecutions I have endured from [him] this winter. In all which I remain neutral." What does Halsband think that this means? It suggests the end of a love affair to me, and to anyone else, I think, who has seen the other sources.

MARK BLACKETT-ORD,
2 New Square, Lincoln's Inn, London WC2.

'Candy for King'

Sir, — In his review (July 22) which I have just seen, J. K. L. Walker deals generally and objectively with what he sees as the politics of my novel *Candy for King*.

But in the end, I think he misrepresents it. What *Candy* discovers is not that "all officers are shits" (any more than all headmasters or all factory managers). He discovers that one officer is such because whereas *Candy*'s illusions make him see evil in everyone, the particular officer's illusions make him see evil in everyone! Across this invisible barricade most important battles are fought in politics and literature.

ROBERT LEESON,
18 McKenzle Road, Brixbourne, Hertfordshire.

In Elle Keadourie's review of John A. Armstrong's *Nations Before Nationalism* (August 19), the sentence in the second paragraph beginning "May not this difference between exogenous and endogenous societies also be connected with the contrast between attachment to territory, so prevalent among West Europeans," should have continued "and attachment to tribe, kin-group or religious community which has remained so characteristic of Middle Eastern society." We regret the printing error which distorted the sense of the paragraph.

The SAC Scottish paperback scheme

Anne Smith

In February this year the Scottish Arts Council advertised in the *Bookseller* for submissions from publishers interested in undertaking, with subsidy, the publication of a uniform paperback series of reprints of "significant works of Scottish literature".

For the humble consumer, or common reader, this was unequivocally good news. Anyone who has tried to make a thoroughgoing study of Scottish literature will know the frustrations of trying to procure working texts. Reprints of important Scottish works seem to be issued by publishers largely on an *ad hoc* basis. Not so long ago, for example, I had to scour the second-hand bookshops to find a copy of Neil Munro's classic novel of the Scottish character, *John Splendid*. At the same time, it would have been relatively easy to obtain paperbacks of Compton Mackenzie's Highland novels, although these couldn't hold a candle to Munro's work.

Until twenty years or so ago, a similar situation prevailed in Canada. Then Malcolm Ross began the New Canadian Library. It rapidly achieved a success comparable to that of the Virago books in this country. The Scottish Arts Council, who have been mulling over a number of decisions about how to get the minor Scottish classics into print, consulted Ross and were further encouraged to try if the same thing might be done in Scotland. But the Scottish milieu is not really comparable to that in Canada. The crucial difference is that there are only 5 million Scots as opposed to 23 million Canadians, and that we read fewer books per head per annum.

Nonetheless the SAC thought the

project worth their best efforts at subsidy. The only guidelines they gave to potential publishers were that there should be anything from eight to twelve books published in a year, and that the cover price should place them within the range of schools and university students—perhaps around £2.50 each. They stipulated that the books should be kept in print "indefinitely".

They did not stipulate that Scottish publishers only should apply. Needless to say, this caused some resentment among Scottish publishers, who consider themselves, with reason, to be at a disadvantage compared to their richer brethren south of the border, with larger markets within easier reach. Resentment gave rise to the wildest rumours, despite the SAC's avowal that "it does not have a completely open mind on the matter, in that it would much prefer the series to be headed by a Scottish publisher". But feeling was high, exacerbated by the announcement by the Arts Council of Great Britain, of a similar project, inviting submissions from "English publishers only".

The SAC's second line of argument is that they are primarily, in this case, concerned with the dissemination of Scottish literature, not with the subsidy of Scottish publishers, whom of course they already subsidize. It is pointed out that MacDiarmid himself, surely a *primus inter Nationalists*, insisted on an English publisher, Martin Arden & O'Keefe, for his collected works; that other literary luminaries on the Scottish scene—MacCaig, Morgan, Crichton Smith, Mackay Brown—have chosen English publishers; and that the whole hope of the rising generation of Scottish writers is to move to Cape Town, to live and write in the next novel. It is a matter of some distribution, and more money for publicity is higher rewards for authors.

Stephanie Wolfe-Murray of Canongate is the first to admit this. She did all the costing for the SAC project, and some fairly intense pressure was put on her to run a course on specific genres, so it became a general study of prose writing. The second day began with a game of literary consequences. We were all given an opening sentence to extend into a paragraph. It was a kick-start to the imagination, a challenge to directness, and it set minds running on lines never explored before. The humour of the game also accustomed us to reading our raw material aloud.

The game, however, led to an exercise, for we were then given a

The SAC is understandably nervous, unwilling to reveal which hats are to be worn, still left in the firing. Pending further committee meetings and the inevitable controversial final decision, they continue as before to subsidize reprints of Scottish books. Having given up thoughts of the major project, Stephanie Wolfe-Murray towards the reprinting of four Scottish books in uniform paperback. At the same time, the SAC gives assistance to English publishers to produce Scottish books. Perhaps in the long run the common reader of Scottish literature will have the best of all possible worlds. That in every sense of the phrase, will be a turn-up for the books.

Inopugnable realities

Christopher Harvie

CHALMERS M. CLAPPERTON
(Editor)

Scotland: A New Study
327pp. Newton Abbot: David and Charles. £15.
0 7153 8084 2

Sib to dewdrop, rainbow, ocean,
No for me their hues and mien.
This foul clay has filled me till
It's no to ken I'm water still.

Hugh MacDiarmid's ambivalent lines seemed to fit the mood of Scotland in 1979, after the failure of devolution and Mrs Thatcher's first election victory. The consciousness of defeat and dejection was there, but also an atom of compensation: the struggle would continue, perhaps some bitter wisdom had been learned. Four years and another election later: what has changed? Has Scotland's increasing electoral divergence from the south quickened the streams of national consciousness? Or has accelerated economic decline, government centralization and the steady loss of commercial autonomy through takeovers choked them still further?

The grim state of the Scots economy is emphasized in *Scotland: A New Study* which island-hops along an ambitious course from the pre-Cambrian to the post-industrial ages. There are fascinating touch-downs - Joy Tivy on the Scottish bio-climate, William Kirk on regionalism in pre-historic Scotland - but some huge omissions: nothing on demography or on nineteenth-century industrial development. Still, the contributions on geology and natural resources leave the impression that these - processed as oil and tourism - are just about all that modern Scotland has going for it. Dealing with "The urban scene, 1760-1981", Ian Adams keeps over the country's recent industrial history:

Forestry is declining, so is agriculture; fishing has been severely reduced; and the paper industry has virtually gone. The steel industry survives around Motherwell but the future of even this industry is uncertain. Shipbuilding is barely surviving, and has vanished forever in Dundee. Car manufacture at Linwood is no more, and at Bathgate the future is uncertain. The much-vaunted electronics industry is withering.

Bad, very bad, but where are the demonstrations, the factory occupations, the barricades? "Upper

Clyde", that false dawn of the Left, happened twelve years ago. The SNP has come and seemingly gone. Have the Scots grown to love their chains?

If the Scottish situation is bad, other, hitherto more prosperous areas of Britain (such as the West Midlands) are actually doing worse. Scots unemployment at 14.8 per cent is about twenty per cent above the average level in the United Kingdom. In the 1960s it was often fifty per cent higher. And earnings, formerly well below the national average, are now roughly the same. If not exactly far-lined, the chains are reasonably comfortable.

For how long? This relative betterment is almost wholly attributable to North Sea oil, which now employs five per cent of the Scottish workforce. Without it, unemployment would be worse than in the 1930s, a decade in which the Scottish staple industries were still reasonably intact and Scots-owned. When the oil goes, after 1990, what development options will remain? In 1981 Scotland had a net emigration figure of over 23,000 - a quarter of the United Kingdom total - 18,000 of whom went overseas. The haemorrhage of talent and ambition not only continues, it accelerates.

The only other growth has come in the electronics sector, but even here the concentration has been on attracting the "primary production" of microchips, usually by multinational concerns enjoying high levels of state aid. Scotland may now produce forty per cent of Europe's chips, but firms which use these to produce "high-value-added" technology have been slow to settle, despite the attractions of government assistance and high-grade university research. From being a nation deeply (although for most of the population profitlessly) implicated in imperial exploitation, the Scots have become the coolies of the cybernetic age.

External control has gone beyond economics. The days when the Scottish Council for Development and Industry paralleled administrative devolution by acting as a mouthpiece for indigenous capital ended in the mid-1970s through closures, nationalization and takeovers. With this the semi-independence of Scots Toryism perished. A party which was, by its own lights, proud and patriotic, is now reduced to 28 per cent of the vote and a score of forgettable MPs. Mrs Thatcher, who before 1979 bustled around the place like Mrs Tiggywinkle, doing evil to devolution, now ignores Scotland almost totally, while Scotland proved relatively unenthusiastic about her finest hour. Polls found 55 per cent

of Scots approving the Falklands campaign, compared with a national percentage of 78.

George Younger, the present damish Secretary of State, at least has to his credit that he has kept Scotland out of the hands of the economic extremists in Mrs Thatcher's entourage, and has nurtured the Scottish Development Agency. The establishment of the SDA by Labour in 1975 as an autonomous body for economic investigation, assistance to industry and environmental improvement, marked a drastic breach with the tradition of centralized "solutions" to regional development problems. According to Michael Cross, in *Scotland: A New Study*, the survival of Scottish industry depends on the SDA as much as on general United Kingdom recovery.

The SDA, even more than the abortive Assembly scheme, marked a shift in the ideology of Scottish Labour away from the enslavement to London rule which had dominated its history since it replaced the Liberals in the 1920s. Although the Left has preserved a myth of Scottish radicalism, this masks bureaucracy and deference. I. B. Caird's essay in *Scotland: A New Study* shows how the eighteenth-century gentry had things their own way in "improving" the peasantry into a landless rural proletariat, the twentieth-century working class has likewise been metamorphosed into the "council tenants" who provide Labour with some of its largest majorities and most of its duller MPs. To be talented in the Scots Labour Party is to enter a political Saint Germain in which Young Chevaliers such as Jim Sillars and the late John Mackintosh sulk in the shadows of the "wee hard men" and "sweetie wifies" who deliver the Scottish votes. The scene, however, is changing - despite the grey presence of Bruce Millan, Labour's Scottish spokesman for the past seven years - and a large number of younger Labour MPs and supporters are demanding more energetic action to secure self-government.

The political picture is therefore not the simple one recognized by London journalists on brief forays. The Scottish National Party is certainly in eclipse. Its share of the vote slipped from 30 per cent in October 1974 to 18 per cent in 1979, and 11.7 per cent in 1983. This was partly due to violent intra-party conflicts which were only patched up on the eve of the election, but also to the fact that self-government - an Assembly with economic and taxation powers - has become Labour and Alliance orthodoxy. Left unionism has disappeared.

Robin Cook, Neil Kinnock's campaign manager and like him a fanatical anti-devolutionist in 1979, is now a federalist. Tam Dalyell's teeth have relentlessly locked into the Falklands. One of the Alliance's chief devolution spokesmen, Peter Wilson, was a bitter opponent of the Assembly as Labour convenor of Lothian region. Such conversions may be politic but they reflect a shift in discussion within an increasingly articulate political community. The new nationalism is socialist realism rather than tartan flamboyance, deeply absorbed in interpreting Scotland's predicament. It is rather scholarly and unassertive, but alienated as never before from the culture of the metropolis.

As anyone browsing in a Scottish bookshop will notice, the revival in Scottish intellectual life in the past decade or so has been remarkable. The bridgeheads established by the poets and novelists of the inter-war Scottish Renaissance have been strengthened by critics, historians, educationalists and social scientists. Scottish art, literature, drama and film are now being assessed, as MacDiarmid demanded, "by the standards applied in all other civilized countries" and are passing the test. Higher education expansion obviously lies behind this, but so too does the reassessment of Scottish culture and society prompted by the rise of the SNP. It is still too early to speak, as some have done, of a "cultural declaration of independence" - the talent for disputation among the Scots makes coordinated action uncommonly difficult - but the intellectual resources for self-government are evident as never before.

"What we think, we can," wrote Louis MacNeice in "An Eclogue for Christmas". "The old idealist lie." Cultural revivals can be substitutes for political action. In a country like Scotland, with a working class which has lost, through industrial decline, many of its institutions of self-government, like the skilled trade unions and the cooperative societies, authoritarian bureaucracy is still more powerful than the libertarian socialism of the intellectuals. Much is going to depend on the validity of theories about Scottish culture and society formulated in the 1970s.

The Marxist philosopher Tony Nairn, in *The Break-up of Britain* (1977), focused in particular on the unique historical role of the Scottish intelligentsia in forswearing liberal nationalism in the nineteenth century for a dualism which involved, on the one hand, energetic and innovative participation in the opportunities offered by British imperialism, and on

the other, the cultivation of a defensive parochial and xenophobic ideal of Scotland christened "Tartanry" or "the Kailyard". The scenario the end of empire and the decrepitude of the British state would provoke the Scots intellectuals to mobilizing a national politics.

The outcome is unlikely to be symmetrical, but various things may be. The government is likely to carry out its next amputations with the safeguard of enhanced national security. The two-party system, and the political conventions created by it, is unlikely to survive. Enraged aggrieved groups now exist in Scotland to make a sustained campaign of disobedience a real possibility. The Scottish constitutional crisis has become the first stage of remaking Britain as a decentralized commonwealth.

Which brings us back to MacDiarmid. The thousand-mile chronology of Scotland's geography, creation in Chalmers Clapperton's contribution to *Scotland: A New Study* would have recommended itself as a writer of that hymn to materialist mysticism "On a Raised Beach" (1938). Do not argue with me. Argue with the stars.

Truth has no trouble in knowing that this is it. The hard fact. The inopugnable reality. Here is something for you to digest. Eat this and we'll see what spirit you have left.

For a world we'll see what spirit you have left.

I pledge you in the first and last man. The rocks rattling in the head-pond of Crystalline rocks, for MacDiarmid well as for his friend Lewis Grassie Gibbon in *Grey Granite* (1938) symbolized the new knowledge and new men needed to transform Scotland in the depression of the 1930s. MacDiarmid, however, never estimated the hazard of mobilizing Scotland. In "Why I became a nationalist" (1932) this takes the form of the roughest of wooings. So he lies hostile "we one nation cauldly there / Open but glow cauldly...". But then the poem shifts to a powerful, turbulent positive image out of the famer's when fire sweeps bracken and heaves from the uplands, to enable us to gaze:

You show but surely heat until
You catch my flame against your will.
And the mureburn tak's the hill.

For the sake of the workers at the Scott-Lilligrow shipyards, the men of Dingwall and Wick, the makers of Ravenscroft, the months had better prove him right.

These increased in the 1770s? Can the low return in many parts particularly spinning, could have permanent effect on the country women's lives, for it was one of the reasons which brought her to the elderly splinters on to power. It has been argued that MacDiarmid, in 1800, the subservience of women asserted more vigorously than the open to them may have been. The employers of having a low-wage labour force.

Another area of important work ignored by Marshall is the women in respect of the cry. By 1700 it was accepted that the cry could, independently, communicate and be tried, or be witness to cases than those concerned only partly understand the significance of this development.

This book marks a stage in scholarly application of feminism. If Dr Marshall's lack of familiarity with important topics and theories developed in the history of the social sciences, looking as perceptively into the lower orders as into the more fortunate few, is a disadvantage, yet there is no doubt as yet in Scotland or elsewhere of the subject, so we should be grateful for this positive contribution.

Tints of the hawthorn tree

Neil Corcoran

ALAN BOLD
MacDiarmid: The Terrible Crystal
252pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
£9.95.
0 7100 9493 0

CATHERINE KERRIGAN
Whaur Extremes Meet: The Poetry of Hugh MacDiarmid 1920-1934
252pp. Edinburgh: Mercat Press.
£12.50.
0 901824 69 0

C. M. GRIEVE
Annals of the Five Senses: The First Collected Work by Hugh MacDiarmid
161pp. Polygon Books. £6.50.
0 904919 74 9

In the middle of his enormous late poem *In Memoriam James Joyce*, itself only part of a projected but never realized colossal poem, Hugh MacDiarmid offers himself a piece of uncharacteristically lyrical advice:

Let the only consistency
In the course of my poetry
Be like that of the hawthorn tree
Fresh in early Spring breaks
Fresh emerald, then by nature's law
Darkens and deepens and takes
Tints of purple-maroon, rose-madder
and straw.

But this natural, organic analogy actually suggests a very rich kind of consistency indeed; if this were the "only" consistency in anyone's poetry, it would be more than enough for most tastes. In fact, most of MacDiarmid's critics have been hard put to it to find any consistency at all in his oeuvre, and very few indeed - with the notable exceptions of Edwin Morgan and G. S. Fraser - have attempted any rigorous defence of the later work.

The accepted reading of MacDiarmid's career is that he wrote some "exquisite lyrics" (his own scathing phrase, mimicking and mocking the English critics); that he then went on to create, in *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle*, his masterpiece, a larger formal structure of great originality and verve, in which he gave resonance and dramatic power to an essentially lyric style; that he wrote, in the 1930s, some fine poems of engaged Communist sympathy, given an "Amoldian" sanction by Lewis in *Scrutiny* for their "truly fine disinterestedness"; but that he subsequently destroyed his talent in the search for a vastly inclusive "poetry of fact", an epic which never reached fulfilment and whose very odd principles of construction included the forbidding transcription, for as much as 49 lines at a time, of such apparently unsuitable material as a TLS review of Karl Kraus.

Neither *MacDiarmid: The Terrible Crystal* nor *Whaur Extremes Meet: The Poetry of Hugh MacDiarmid 1920-1934* is useful as they both are in different ways, significantly revises this received opinion. Catherine Kerrigan addresses herself only to the earlier work, promising a further volume in the future; and Alan Bold, although he theoretically views the work as "an unusually unified text in a marvellously varied context", in fact seriously undermines the approbation implied by that view during the course of his study, deciding at one point, for example, that the "arbitrary form" of the later work "makes more demands on the reader's stamina than his intelligence".

The unifying principle Bold offers is that MacDiarmid is a visionary poet who attempts, in many different forms, to discover a neoplatonic unity-in-diversity. The search focuses particularly on the "terrible crystal" of human activity, which, in practice seems to mean MacDiarmid's own. This central line, not held to with any great insistence, makes Bold sensitively alert to the self-referential, modernist element in the work, and it also provides him with the rationale for exploring MacDiarmid's non-systematic, intuitive "thought", the way he could wilfully reconcile contradictory notions.

Discussing his assimilation of Plato, Hegel and Marx, Bold says that "by assuming that great minds think alike, he was able to give his idiosyncratic nature the status of an ideology". This is very well said: in a single sentence, it joins together the self-conscious sophistication of the endeavour and the jejune premises and prejudices which sometimes underlie it. For, clearly, it is simply not true that "great minds think alike", but MacDiarmid was too busy profitably turning them all into aspects of his own personality to notice. And when flagrant contradiction could no longer be ignored, he turned this also to his ideological advantage by regarding contradiction itself as a manifestation of the Scottish genius: in a spectacularly ugly phrase which he adopted from G. Gregory Smith, it could always be seen as a further revelation of the "Caledonian Antisyzygy". Hence the extraordinary political affiliations which made MacDiarmid both a Communist and a Scottish Nationalist (both the SNP and CP expelled him at different times, finding the favour of his allegiance an embarrassment), and hence also his willingness to renounce the "golden lyric" and the metrical inventiveness of the early poems for the apparently lineated prose of some of the later work.

The supplying of such fruitful formulations is the greatest strength of Bold's book, and he has written a very valuable introductory study. His characterization of MacDiarmid's major contribution as a poetry "cerebral in conception and nurtured in an emotional matrix" is persuasive; but one might wish for a little more close criticism to show the effects of this on actual lines and stanzas.

There is not a great deal of close verbal analysis in Catherine Kerrigan's book either. Its range is much narrower than Bold's, covering only the first fourteen years of the career; its account of the intellectual context of the early work is correspondingly deeper. Kerrigan is very illuminating on the importance of MacDiarmid's Orage and the *Mag*; and anyone who wants to know exactly what he took from Spengler, Nietzsche, Dostoyevsky, Soloviev, Charles Doughty and John Davidson, will find it all lucidly presented here. Dense, knowledgeable and well-researched, the book manages to be informative with enthusiasm, and without pedantry; but the discussion sometimes seems to be taking place at quite a distance from the poetry itself. Kerrigan's method is responsible for this. Each chapter first analyses the "thought" MacDiarmid was influenced by, and only then turns to the poem in which the interest is reflected. This almost inevitably makes the poems seem more simply illustrative than they are, more systematically than a play presentation of ideas rather than a play among them. Sometimes, too, the deconstruction of ideas important to MacDiarmid seems rather top-heavy. One is grateful for as much information as one can get about, say, Soloviev; but the pocket Marx offered in the chapter called "The Political Man" seems redundant, particularly since MacDiarmid's Marxism, with its openly acknowledged idealism and elitism, subscribes to none of the orthodoxies. Nevertheless, as a study of MacDiarmid's "early intellectual sources", Kerrigan's book is indispensable; she powerfully reinforces one's sense of the sheer range and vigour of the early work.

Annals of the Five Senses, a staggering collection of poems and prose published under his real name, C. M. Grieve, and this edition celebrates the sixtieth anniversary of its publication. Never one to do things by halves, he was apparently planning ten volumes of "mystical psychoanalysis", and that is probably as good a description as any of the contents of the book. Alan Bold, in his introduction, suggests that it resembles the late poetry more than it resembles anything in between, but, at once set how. The prose is, as usual, torturedly analytic, and weird and weirdly, they sound now like the madhouse of now like Lawrence, now like the Virginia Woolf of "The Mark on the Wall", and every so often like a parody of some folk piece of 1890s



Unsuccessful attempt to prevent the assassination of James I of Scotland in 1437: reproduced from Rainy Days at Brig o' Turk: The Highland Sketchbooks of John Everett Millais 1853 edited by Mary Lutyens and Malcolm Warner (84pp. Dalrymple Press, 3 Lodge Lane, Westerham, Kent: £45. 0 9507301 3 0).

neurasthenia ("The flaming effrontery of a bunch of cheap roses, brutally red! The hot offensive dampness of an afternoon edition!"). This callow prose, narcissistically inflated with itself, has little intrinsic value, perhaps, but it does help towards an understanding of the whole career. It emphasizes the importance to MacDiarmid of his experiences during the First World War, when he later to write that "most of the important words were killed" then, and this is clearly relevant to his own development of "Synthetic Scots", "Aggrandised Scots" and "Synthetic English" as alternatives to these important, dead words. And the book also offers evidence of what the man who called himself "Hugh MacDiarmid" might have sounded like if he had not chosen to be Hugh MacDiarmid. In doing this, it vividly alerts us to the element of self-conscious election in MacDiarmid's career: "Hugh MacDiarmid" is the name not just of a poet, or of a body of work, but of a campaign.

It is the lonely integrity of this campaign which in fact provides the "only consistency" of MacDiarmid's work. Calling himself "the catfish that vitalizes the other torpid denizens of the aquarium", he took it upon himself to oppose Scottish defeatism with a resilient sense of the alternative to a dominant, aggressive English culture - an alternative which he believed was locked somewhere in the Scots tradition and tongue. If this "alternative" had in fact been lost in the sentimental prettifications of the kailyard, then MacDiarmid would single-handedly re-invent it.

Bold makes it clear how important Joyce's example was to MacDiarmid in this heroic enterprise, persuasively arguing that MacDiarmid's "Synthetic Scots" should be seen not as antiquarianism, but as a thoroughgoing modernist innovation. When combining through Jameson's etymological dictionary, MacDiarmid was, he said, enormously struck by its "moral resemblance" to *Ulysses*; the philological discoveries of the dictionary alerted him to the poetic possibility of a "vis comica" bound by desuetude and misapprehension in the recesses of the Doric. *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* liberates this "vis comica", and triumphantly justifies its "Synthetic Scots" as a medium simple enough to embrace the scathing and scatological, the whirling and complaining; and it also, at its best, manages a plainness as desolating as anything in Hardy.

The desire to redeem Scotland also well as engaged in discussion works very well, as MacDiarmid dealt with in the direction of his later formal experimentation. Seeking a "quintessentially Celtic" epic form for the coming-class society, he drew down to the "open-ended, improvisatory quality" of the plough. This will prob-

ably not cut much ice with those who as Shylock puts it, cannot contain their urine when the bagpipe sings in the nose; and "open-endedness" is one thing, terminal hypertrophy quite another. What seems to me to go abandoned Scots, he was also abandoning things necessary to his own creativity. Scots socialized him: the philological attentiveness was a humbling of himself before the strategies of his campaign, a gesture instinct with social and cultural value. And, because of this, the campaign could remain largely implicit in the poetry, which could then get on with all sorts of other things. The abandoning

of Scots removed this social check on MacDiarmid's isolation and egotism, and brought the argument to the level of the explicit. Modernist inventiveness collapsed into a very belated Romantic effusiveness; the richly expressive vocal personality lost all sense of what a voice in poetry might sound like, to the extent of remaining silent before choirs of other, lesser voices; and the poetry, for large stretches, became indistinguishable from prose. In the early lyrics, what impresses most is the perfect, miniature intensity of the articulation; in the later work, the more intensely articulated moments seem oases in a desert of the *voulu*.

Decisions and divisions

Ian Campbell

ALAN BOLD
Modern Scottish Literature
332pp. Longman. £6.95.
0 582 49054 2

TREVOR ROYLE
The Macmillan Companion to Scottish Literature
322pp. Macmillan. £25.
0 335 28508 5

Alan Bold's new work of reference will serve for many as a first introduction to Scottish literature. It is less expensive than the larger-scale work on the novel by Francis Hart and more up-to-date than Maurice Lindsay's 1977 history. It offers a good brief summary of its subject - with an apology for the missing Gaelic literature, which the author cannot read. "Modern" is marked by the emergence of Davidson, MacGonagall, and *Whistle-Binkie* in poetry; Stevenson in fiction and the emergence of Barrie and Bridie on stage. There are references which include brief bibliographical guides and a reading list at the end.

The seeds of critical disagreement are sown at the very point at which the survey starts - with a definition which can include MacGonagall and the early kailyard, and is deliberately contentious - as much as by the overall balance of the work. Bold plainly rates George Douglas Brown's *The House with the Green Shutters* very highly and in the case of that novel, as well as the work of Grassie Gibbon and Neil Gunn, not only identifies and discusses themes, but summarizes plots at a length which suggests he is trying to draw readers into the experience of the subject.

Mostly, this is a discussion works very well as engaged in discussion works very well. MacDiarmid is dealt with in a densely written essay which would really require the first-time reader to consult the poems, but the thread of a tenuous argument is there, tenuous enough not to bind MacDiarmid to a thesis, but

clear and allowing readers to see the poet's development.

This method is less successful where the author has skimmed the space he feels he can allow a developing writer - Edwin Morgan, for example, gets rather short shrift - or where he frankly has to admit defeat, as with Gaelic. Non-fictional prose works, such as MacDiarmid and Grassie Gibbon's *Scottish Scene*, are not dealt with at any length. Bold sees the theatre as "in a stage of uncertainty"; writers of fiction are "still pressurized by the past"; recent poets transcend provincialism by "artistically precise universality". Over all hang questions of definition, language, history, and allegiance. "The Scottish writer makes a matter of decision... a matter of division."

In a country where Scottish literature is at last finding a place in the schools, albeit by the teaching of a very small number of works sometimes ad nauseam, *Modern Scottish Literature* is an easily accessible, reasonably priced survey which is bound to provoke interest and stimulate reading and critical argument.

In *The Macmillan Companion to Scottish Literature*, Trevor Royle has provided an A-Z guide to the writers, main works, and themes of the subject, although in a quite different form from Alan Bold's, aiming rather at a reference compilation in permanent, hardback form. The range is wide, the writing condensed, the bibliographies brief - sometimes too brief for comfort. Inevitably, there are slips of fact as any reviewer will point out, but this is a pity to his pet hobby-horse - Carlyle's London address and his main modern biographer's name are wrong - but the single-handed production of a reference work of this kind is a signal achievement.

TALBOT RICE ART CENTRE
(The University Gallery)
Old College, South Bridge, Edinburgh
The Paintings of Paul-Emile Borduas
1905-1960
20th August-10th September 1983
Monday-Saturday, 10am-6pm
Sunday 2pm-5pm
ADMISSION FREE

Degrees of dependence

Rosalind Mitchison

ROSALIND K. MARSHALL
Virgins and Viragos: A History of Women in Scotland from 1800-1980
365pp. Collins. £13.50.
0 00 216029 0

In early modern Europe and later, there appear to have been more women than men: a fact not easily deduced from traditional historical, legal, or literary sources. The "virgin" and "virago" were, respectively, the ideal and the reality. In their names are to be invoked. An Elizabethan Puritan or a Catherine of Siena cannot be seen as other than exceptional among ruling class women. *Virgins and Viragos* is an attempt to redress the balance for the country Scot, in an exercise in scholarly feminism. Rosalind K. Marshall simply, but with remarkable thoroughness, sets out to explore what the documentation can yield about the status and ways of life of women in the past, supplementing it when she comes to the period of educational opportunity with their own personal views.

The practical position of women was, for most of the period, considerably stronger than the legal fiction. The law barely recognized them as individuals, except in the case when violence was done to them or to their supporting menfolk. Women were assumed to be under the

governance of father or husband, even sometimes of employer. For many centuries in Scotland their official dependence was so great that they were not considered to be capable of crime, or even of bearing witness. Yet in different cases they can be shown to have been recalcitrant or obliging, independent or conformist, doctrinaire or persuadable.

The accounts of women's lives before 1600 contained here show them generally in unusual roles. After that literacy became a more common acquisition for both men and women, and so we get more personal information, making possible a chapter on "some things that they packed to their beds, while they themselves put their energies into securing suitable spouses for their daughters, in a marriage market which had become dangerously open. Daughters were equipped with accomplishments to this end and by the beginning of the nineteenth century some of them began to aspire to education for their own sake." Dr Marshall quotes the correspondence of the Scott of Harden, girls, as well as letters leading them to the study of Icelandic to more adventurous languages. The learned lady and the aspiring student led the way for the professional women of the twentieth century.

For the modern period Marshall is able to extend her researches well below the proper class, and she has some sour things to say about the range of jobs available and pay levels for the

Parliament in Edinburgh. But for the upper class this was to change in the eighteenth century with the "urban renaissance". Towns and later, country-houses developed as social and entertainment centres and their facilities were for both sexes. A town might have assembly-rooms, a promenade, concerts and lending libraries, besides specialist dress-makers and teachers. Spas became popular, and health treatment, such as it was, was only a part of the facilities that they offered. Meanwhile more rural outlets made it less and less necessary for ladies to study tallow candles, while they themselves put their energies into securing suitable spouses for their daughters, in a marriage market which had become dangerously open. Daughters were equipped with accomplishments to this end and by the beginning of the nineteenth century some of them began to aspire to education for their own sake." Dr Marshall quotes the correspondence of the Scott of Harden, girls, as well as letters leading them to the study of Icelandic to more adventurous languages. The learned lady and the aspiring student led the way for the professional women of the twentieth century.

For the modern period Marshall is able to extend her researches well below the proper class, and she has some sour things to say about the range of jobs available and pay levels for the

Wages differential were also important. Are we right in thinking that

mass of women. In 1979 women's wages equaled a mere 73 per cent of men's, and here she links the problem of economic independence for women in Scotland with the situation elsewhere in the world.

This is a note she might have struck earlier if she had widened her sources. She has an excellent knowledge of family papers and has dug up a surprising amount of detail from protocol books and chronicles. She has, however, ignored some eighteenth-century public sources which would have shown her the pressures that existed then on the less well-protected women. In the progression to marriage there is no mention of unmarried childbearing, yet with 10 per cent of births in the mid nineteenth century occurring out of wedlock, and a high proportion of these first confinements, a substantial minority of women clearly sidestepped any such progression. Church records shed light on other unenjoyable features: wife-beating, for instance, denounced by the Church if it took place on Sunday, was otherwise an accepted part of marital relations. A question bound to suggest itself to anyone familiar with English marriage customs is whether Scotland had a pattern of wife-sale. Certainly sales of wives occurred but we do not yet know with what frequency or ritual.

Wages differential were also important. Are we right in thinking that

Divergent paths

F. M. L. Thompson

T. M. DEVINE and DAVID DICKSON (Editors)

Ireland and Scotland 1600-1850: Parallels and Contrasts in Economic and Social Development
283pp. Edinburgh: John Donald.
£10.
0 85976 089 X

Scotland and Ireland, separated by proud traditions of different cultures as well as by geography, are yet held together by historic links and by a shared experience of political and economic subordination to England. The distinctive Highland language and culture were in many respects simply an Irish overflow; Ulster became, in large measure, a reverse export of Scottish traits; and both countries, once continually disrupted and disturbed by internal feuding, enjoyed a long period of internal stability from the close of the seventeenth century, largely under English influence.

The Irish, until comparatively recently, tended to present their subsequent history as that of a down-trodden and exploited colonial economy, while the Scots looked on theirs more as that of a junior and under-privileged partner in a British enterprise. Scottish and Irish historians are now much more conscious of the more or less equal opportunities facing the two countries in 1700, and are concerned to explain the obvious divergence in their economies and social structures which was visible by 1850 more in terms of internal factors than of the differing impact of the English connection. The first fruits of

their getting together were published in 1977 in a volume edited by L. M. Cullen and T. C. Smout, *Comparative Aspects of Irish and Scottish Economic and Social History*, to which the present volume is the sequel. Like the earlier volume, it presents the proceedings of a conference and its attendant discussion, and although it focuses on issues which were thrown up by the first conference, such as rural social and economic change, or on topics not covered before, such as urban and religious comparisons. It does not, therefore, set out to provide a comprehensive treatment of the divergence between the two societies from around the 1780s, and must be read in conjunction with the earlier volume, where such topics as foreign trade and industrial change find their place.

In spite of the volume's title, there is not a lot about the seventeenth century itself in any of the papers, but what there is reveals Rosalind Mitchison agreeing with the original Cullen and Smout thesis, that at the beginning of the eighteenth century Ireland had a brighter economic future than Scotland. She argues that the Scottish economy was a good deal more primitive and less attuned to the market than the Irish. T. M. Devine disagrees, seeing the roots of Scottish economic superiority as stretching far back into a more balanced and resilient urban element which enabled Scotland to profit from the English connection by a "modern" exploitation of the linen market, while Ireland could only do so in a "backward", peasant, by-employment fashion.

What are the appropriate handicaps to award at the start of the race, indeed whether there was an economic race at

all - are less vital questions than those surrounding the divergence in agriculture, industry, trade, and wealth which are increasingly apparent from the 1780s onwards. On the face of this divergence surely all are agreed? Scotland was in the full swing of her industrial expansion and prosperity at the very moment when Ireland plunged to the disaster and destitution of the Famine. Yet in one of the most important and controversial papers in the collection, Peter Solar argues, with econometric trimmings, that on the central issue of agricultural productivity, on which hinge all manner of critically important assessments to do with backwardness of techniques, the role of landholding structures, and the capacity of the economy to generate surpluses, the Irish performance was well up to the Scottish. Indeed Ireland, he shows, became Britain's bread-basket in the early decades of the nineteenth century and, through the efficiency of her farming, the high yields and large surpluses of cereals kept the population of Scottish towns in oats as well as the English in wheat. If that was so, and granted that Ireland did not possess the mineral resources which Scotland did, the large-scale Scottish industrialization, then there was not so much a divergence between high and low rates of economic growth, modernization and backwardness, between the two countries, as a rational and productive specialization in different and complementary spheres of activity.

Needless to say, most of the other participants are disinclined to accept the revolutionary implications of Solar's paper. His argument is that Ireland had no call for an agricultural revolution on the Scottish, or English model: there was no need for turnips when slovenly husbandry was providentially bailed out by haphazard regeneration of the soil, through the spontaneous appearance of rich carpets of white clover on over-cropped lands that were left to revert to grass. This involves the 'natural' advantages of the Emerald Isle to offset those handicaps of landownership arrangements and deficiencies of capital and skill which are normally held to have obtained. Solar's thesis, neatly provided with a distinction between the commercialized, fertile, cereal-growing areas of south-east Ireland and the beautiful but unpromising West (which acted as a dustbin for excess population that could get on with potato-patch subdivision without upsetting the efficiency of the south-east), contains the essence of a major re-interpretation of Irish agricultural history which will need refinement and testing in further work. Meanwhile, this volume attests to the great amount of research which is going on in Irish and Scottish economic history. A good score of historians can be observed at work on topics as diverse as the introduction of sheep into the southern Scottish uplands, the origins of customs of tenant right in Ireland, the building of planned villages, the development of joint-stock banking, or the influence of religious teaching on economic behaviour.

Much of this landscape, of course, is relatively familiar in English and European settings, but less well explored and mapped for Ireland and Scotland. Its detailed surveying, as well as its interpretation, is the task of the contributors, who find themselves in a 'fishy' sea, as it were, in which the water is not so clear as it seems. In many cases the contributions in this volume offer preliminary results; and the discussions reported as often as not concentrated on the particular topical and national debates, where wits are sharpened over the dimensions and causes of population growth, the comparative contributions of 'indigenous' and 'foreign' factors to innovation, or the meaning and measurement of pre-industrial 'commercialization'. The overall impression, perhaps, is of a quantity of ideas and activity at the quarry face - or should one say, in the quarry face - but not yet clear, expertly broken out of the stone and colour of the bricks out of which will be built a structure, than can answer the initial question: why did the Scottish economy appear so similar in 1700 to the English one, and so divergent by 1850?

Given the book's title, one feels that its focus should be the essay, centrally placed, by Denis Hay on "Scotland and the Italian Renaissance"; but, alas, this is a disappointment, since it emerges that it is a study of a non-subject. The Renaissance came late to Scotland and through other channels. During the sixteenth century hardly any influences came direct from Italy, except for the inevitable but not major influence of Italian poetry on a great generation of Scottish poets. Professor Hay does not even elaborate as much as he might about Scottish visitors to Italy; Edward Cowan tells us more about them in his essay on "The Darker Version of the Scottish Renaissance: the Devil and Francis Stewart", which is an entertaining account of a rascal's life but contains too much guesswork to convince one that its title is relevant. Duncan Shaw's analysis of the catalogue of Bishop Adam Bothwell's library, which survives, though few of the books do, shows him to have been a learned man of up-to-date tastes, but tells one nothing about the Renaissance in Scotland. The aim of the editors has been, very reasonably, to concentrate their contributors on Professor Donaldson's sixteenth century. By stressing the Renaissance in their title, they have acted as provocateurs to those of their contributors who have accepted both the Scottish Renaissance and kept to the sixteenth century, but kept to the sixteenth century. At the end there is a useful bibliography of his writing. In between are nine essays, from Scotland, two from Canada and one from Denmark; none from England, a fact which perhaps speaks for itself. Three essays from the University of Glasgow are wholly based on the records and are so technical as hardly to be readable by the non-expert: one on "The early Scottish notary" and two on different aspects of church

A fishwife's fate

James Hunter

DAVID FRASER (Editor)

The Christian Watt Papers
186pp. Edinburgh: Paul Harris.
£8.95.
0 86228 047 X

On the jetty at Kyleakin in Skye one summer's day in the 1890s, there took place an unusual confrontation. On one side was Lord Macdonald of Sleat, owner of a large part of Skye and the man responsible for many of the evictions and dispossession then occurring on the island; addressing him was Christian Watt, a fisher lassie from the Aberdeenshire port of Fraserburgh. "He had a party of folks with him," Christian wrote later of her encounter with Lord Macdonald. "I was not going to lose the chance. I said to him before this audience, 'You are lower than the outcroppings of any pigsty, causing all that human suffering to innocent people.'" Lord Macdonald tried to expel the stronger-willed population of the Scottish north-east rather than islanders, Christian continued, "his fine castle would have been burned down". And she insisted: "Though I was a herring gutler I was as much a descendant of the Lord of the Isles as he was."

There Christian was correct. Both her father and mother were descended - by way of his descendants' illegitimate children - from William Fraser of Philorth, eleventh Lord Saltoun and a member of the leading family in Christian's part of Aberdeenshire. And the Frasers, in turn, included among their ancestors the medieval Lords of the Isles, rulers of Skye and all the Hebrides.

Christian Watt's own life was far from happy. Born in 1833 in Broadsea, a fishing village now absorbed by Fraserburgh, she began work as a domestic servant at the age of eight. Soon she had become a herring-gutler and fish seller, having Broadsea's catches through the inland parts of Aberdeenshire, travelling as far as Ireland and America in search of work.

Back in Scotland she married her husband, James Sim, suffered the common fate of fishermen. "It was of those strange days in April, starting bright and sunny, when the sky was black to its horizon, and the rain was falling in torrents, with the rain threatening a deluge, take in the blankets which were laid out on the beach, and the sea had risen mountains high and a grand sight then. I saw one boat ... and intuition told me something was wrong, and after an hour with the rain lashing down, boats went round Kinnaird Congregational Minister came to the door. I asked which of my folk was he. He said, 'It is the husband'."

Christian's subsequent struggle with poverty and misfortune would break her mind. In 1879 she admitted to Cornhill, the Aberdeen infirmary for the mentally ill, and she remained until her death in 1901. But she was never insane. As Cornhill she wrote the story of her life, now edited and presented by General Sir David Fraser, then Fraser of Philorth and then a distant descendant.

The extracts already quoted into the power and lucidity of Christian Watt's narrative. Such accounts, nineteenth-century working-class are rare and valuable. But *Christian Watt Papers* are more than a source of information, however interesting and important, about Scotland of a century ago. The book, above all, a fitting memorial to Christian Watt herself - a strong, intelligent, perceptive and hardy woman who deserved a better fate.

Royal Scotland by Roddy Mac

(208pp. Paul Harris. £5.95. 0 86228 047 X)

1) is an account of the ruling house of Scotland from the merger of the Gaelic and Celtic thrones in 843 AD to the present Royal family, including chapters on Royal Queen of Scots, Mary Queen of Scots, and the "King over the water", "Victoria and the birth of Britain", as well as comprehensive lists of royal marriages, royal deaths, and a list of suggested reading.

Achievers abroad

James Campbell

NEIL McCALLUM

A Small Country: Scotland
1700-1830
224 Edinburgh: Mercat Press.
£9.95.
0 901834 70 4

Of the many civil engineers to emerge from Scotland during the eighteenth century, perhaps the one who left the deepest mark in England was Robert Mylne, who designed Blackfriars' Bridge and carried out work on, among other buildings, Saint Paul's and Canterbury Cathedral, the Palace at Crofton, and a London club house, Almack's, which belonged to a Mr Macall, a Scotsman who invented his name to avoid the dislike the English had for his people.

Much of Neil McCallum's "comprehensive account" of Scotland between the years 1700 and 1830 presents this kind of paradox: it is a history of individual success and national failure. Even in the Enlightenment's period of greatest fruitfulness - a span of about thirty years, which produced Hume, Watt, Burns, Adam Smith, as well as major developments in architecture and science - a Scotsman called David Young could write, "at present Scotland is a century behind England in points of improvement, liberal sentiment and the arts".

Assigning it for the moment to be true (and a similar sentiment is, often, voiced about Scotland today), was it all the fault of the Scots? A *Small Country* takes us through the collapse of the Darien Scheme, because of English interference in Scottish trade, the loss of the Scottish Parliament even though it was opposed (according to Sir John Clerk, a staunch pro-Unionist) by

three-quarters of the population, the prolonged butchery of the Jacobites after the Jacobite defeat at Culloden, and the completion of the John and William Wallace, the war which were perpetrated by the Jacobites. It should come as no surprise, then, that Scotland's export has always been people. Mr McCallum has written a compendious account of this period, packed with fascinating detail. Information, such as that he has used as fuel by brewers and distillers, is a pity, then, that he should have made so little effort to transform something personal and anecdotal into a list of names and their achievements, which would be impressive but at length tedious.

McCallum's want of imagination is evident early in the book, when, in an attempt to explain the importance of social change in Scotland (relative to England), he suggests that it derives from a thorough mixing of old and new, where nobles, tradesmen, and beggars lived almost cheek by jowl, and were of necessity on intimate terms with each other. A historian who depends so much on period written years after the events of his study - not to mention Victorian writer Gray Grant's books about the eighteenth century in Scotland. Finally, it is a pity that a book which is published by Mercat Press, a small house which publishes valuable books, should finish the job properly by publishing a book which is almost a work of the imagination, and which is so full of errors and omissions that it is almost a work of the imagination. The book is a masterpiece of the art of the book.

In the steps of Nasser

P. J. Vatikiotis

FELIPE FERNÁNDEZ-ARMESTO

Sadat and his Statecraft

185pp. Windsor: Kensal Press (distributed by Abacus). £10.50.
0 946041 14 8

MORAHMED HEIKAL

Autumn of Fury: The Assassination of Sadat

200pp. André Deutsch. £10.95.
0 233 97502 0

Barely a year younger than Nasser, President Sadat shared with his predecessor a more or less similar background and political formation. They were products of the same "political street" of the 1930s, and of the same post-1936 military college. But whereas Nasser's career as a young army officer before 1952 was relatively uneventful, Sadat's was chequered by his involvement in pro-Axis espionage during the war, by political assassinations and imprisonment. As a rebel officer mixed up in the political machinations of the Palace, the Muslim Brethren and Young Egypt, Sadat was perhaps the only member of the Free Officer Revolutionary Council in 1952 to have a "record". Although he alluded to himself in his writings during the 1960s as the founder of the Free Officer movement, he accepted a variety of posts under Nasser's regime, none of which gave him any prominence or great influence. Dismissal, retirement and death having, by 1969, eliminated practically all the other original members of the Revolutionary Council, his own circumstances and falling health prompted Nasser to appoint Sadat as his vice-president in 1969, less than a year before his own sudden death in September 1970.

From 1956 to 1970 Egypt became synonymous with Nasser, and for a shorter period, from 1956 to 1960, the whole Arab Middle East was dominated by his towering presence. Nasser lost every war against Israel, yet he remained popular. Sadat half won the last war against Israel in October 1973 and proceeded to conclude a peace treaty with his erstwhile enemy

in 1979. He became extremely popular with the outside world as a man of peace and vision, a great statesman and world leader. Yet at home he was resented by the liberals, the leftists and the Nasserites, and detested by the religious militants, including those who assassinated him in October 1981. Like Nasser, Sadat was a very complex man, a poorly educated but ambitious soldier turned politician. As with Nasser, assessment of his personality, career and political record has been marked by passionate controversy.

This second edition of Felipe Fernández-Armesto's *Sadat and his Statecraft* is no improvement on the first. It remains a "valuedictory salute", in the words of the dust-cover: but it is not, as also stated there, the product of "immense experience" or "authority".

The book lacks any serious acquaintance with the modern history of Egypt. It is an encomium of Sadat, based very much on Sadat's own statements about himself, and presenting him as a great visionary and democrat.

Sadat and his Statecraft stands in sharp contrast to the more engaging diatribe by Mohamed Heikal, a member of Egypt's political establishment and ruling class for twenty years who was closely identified with the Nasser regime, and who knew Nasser and Sadat well, serving both as a publicist, in control of the Cairo newspaper *Al-Ahram*, from 1957 to 1974. Heikal promoted his own connections with the media and with political leaders in other countries, becoming a household name in Egypt and the rest of the Arab world.

Autumn of Fury is an attempt to explain Sadat's assassination. It comprises a record of the Sadat regime and a critique of the man, his motives and policies. It is not clear if the "fury" of the title is that of the Islamic militants who assassinated Sadat, or Heikal's own, or that of the Egyptian people. Despite the author's pretentious disclaimer that the book is not meant as a personal attack on Sadat, this is indeed the impression conveyed by its misleadingly selective narrative and use of false comparisons: it has the air of a personal apologia, and the onslaught on Sadat is, by implication, a panegyric for Nasser.

From division to destruction

Malcolm Yapp

DAVID C. GORDON

The Republic of Lebanon: Nation in the Making
170pp. Croom Helm. £13.95.
0 709 1154 8

DAVID GILMOUR

Lebanon: The fractured country
200pp. Oxford: Martin Robertson.
£9.95.
0 85520 679 9

JONATHAN RANDAL

The Tragedy of Lebanon: Christian Warlords, Israeli Adventurers and American Bunglers
304pp. Chatto and Windus. £9.95 (paperback, £4.95).
0 7011 2754 6

TONY CLIFTON and CATHERINE LEROY

God Cried
143pp. Quartet. £15.
0 7043 2375 3

In 1975 the sporadic violence which had disturbed Lebanon for several years grew into civil war. The Syrian intervention of 1976 achieved a respite in the fighting without bringing a halt, but the Israeli invasion of 1982, including the bombardment of Beirut, brought bloodshed and destruction even more intense than in 1975-76. Examining these events as they are described and analysed in the four books under review it is useful to ask the question: did the misfortunes of Lebanon arise primarily from defects in its internal structure or was it the stateless victim of outside forces?

In a book of similar size, organization and purpose David Gilmour dismisses the Palestinian factor as a fiction of the Israeli press and the Philangists and asserts that Lebanon's problems were internal, arising from an economic system which was grossly unfair and a political system in which the patron-client system in which the civil war was mainly fought. The civil war was the consequence of the attempt by the Maronite ultra-

David C. Gordon inclines towards the latter view. Drawing partly on material presented in his previous book, *Lebanon: The tragedy of a nation* (1980), he has produced an equally enlightening, but more structured, short book, which has sections on Lebanon's society, economy and politics as well as an account of the Civil War, its aftermath and the Israeli invasion. Gordon has taught at the American University of Beirut; he is familiar with scholarly writing about the Lebanon; and his new book is a valuable introduction to the problems of that country. He does not minimize the extent of its internal problems and believes that the confessional system, according to which the spoils of Lebanon were divided: unequally between the religious communities, required modification, or abolition; nevertheless, he is optimistic about the abilities of the Lebanese, left to themselves, to find a solution to those problems. The factor which brought about the destruction of the state (surely a more appropriate term than Gordon's "nation") was the Palestinian presence. The claims of the Palestinians to be an autonomous community within Lebanon and to carry out war against Israel from Lebanese territory were incompatible with the sovereignty of the state, but the attempt to rebut those claims broke the state's institutions.

In a book of similar size, organization and purpose David Gilmour dismisses the Palestinian factor as a fiction of the Israeli press and the Philangists and asserts that Lebanon's problems were internal, arising from an economic system which was grossly unfair and a political system in which the patron-client system in which the civil war was mainly fought. The civil war was the consequence of the attempt by the Maronite ultra-

scribed as suspicious, aggressive and intolerant - to prop up this indefensible system by crushing the left; the war was one between a neo-fascist organization and a radical. Arab nationalist alliance and only later took on a confessional character; the Palestinians were merely a catalyst. As for the Israeli invasion of 1982 it had nothing to do with Lebanon but was undertaken to facilitate the annexation of the West Bank by destroying the main Palestinian centre in Lebanon. The Palestinians in Lebanon were not attacked by Israel because they were too aggressive but because they were too moderate and by their reasonableness threatened to deprive Israel of her excuse for retaining the West Bank.

Gilmour's analysis is not supported by the same depth of reading which distinguishes Gordon's book. His knowledge of Arab and Syrian history rests on a narrow and shaky base; his account of the Lebanese civil war is unreliable, and he has absorbed too much of the romantic nationalism which characterizes some historical writing on the modern Middle East. His treatment of individuals lacks the subtlety of Gordon's in *Lebanon*; his hands that complex man, Kamal Jumblatt, is reduced to only one of his many personae, namely the hero of the secular left; and Gilmour abandons any attempt to understand the appeal of Suleiman Frangieh, expressing only bafflement that such a man could have been chosen as President.

Jonathan Randal's book is of a different character. The author is a journalist whose frequent visits to Lebanon have been linked to successive crises. He has attempted, however, to do more than simply record his own impressions of the fighting, although he does include some vivid

writing of this type, notably about the death of Bashir Gemayel and the Chatila massacre. Randal offers a more substantial analysis of the Lebanese problem and comes to conclusions similar to those of Gilmour. The real problems, he argues, were internal; the odd thing about Lebanon is that it has lasted so long; and the Palestinians were merely scapegoats for the sins of the Maronites. The United States he does not believe that it supported the Maronites or supplied them with arms but he does believe that his country had no policy at all for Lebanon and misled people about its intentions in a dangerous fashion. Worst of all, the US failed to restrain Israel. As for Israel, the author believes that since 1950s many Israelis have wanted to bring about the creation of a small, Christian Lebanon allied to Israel and that the 1982 invasion was just a further stage in the pursuit of that goal.

The Israeli bombardment of west Beirut maintained long after its ostensible purpose had been achieved, remarks Randal, made him ashamed to be an American. The same bombardment is the subject of *God Cried*, a collection of photographs by Catherine Leroy with a text by Tony Clifton of *Newsweek*. They were in west Beirut during the siege and were revolted by what they saw. In fact their book is not really about Lebanon at all; it is about the Israeli attack and the Palestinians who defended themselves against the Israeli attack and its victims are the Lebanese themselves. The photographs feature the destruction of buildings, the maiming of children, the deaths of individuals, and explore the effects of phosphorous shells and cluster-bombs upon the human body. Some, in colour, of bombs and shells

bursting along the Beirut sea front on a cloudless summer day, are quite beautiful, reminiscent of descriptions of the first day of the Battle of the Somme. The text is written in the "tabloid" style, which is a pity, since the book seems to figure on every other page (no less than three times on page 25) and comes in every variety - human, dog, horse, chicken, camel and bull. As a device for conveying a sense of the horror of war to the reader Clifton's style falls short of the more conventional methods of Graves, Blunden, Sassoon and Owen. And the tough, uncompromising manner conceals little depth; what the author's many notes about what Campbell-Bannerman said about what Campbell-Bannerman said about a buffer state in the Middle East in 1911 could be, except to an apocalypticist, it is difficult to imagine. So fearsome an event as the bombardment of Beirut demands a more sensitive chronicler.

Finally one may ask: what solutions to Lebanon's problems are offered here? Curiously, Gilmour and Gordon, although so far apart in their analysis, point towards the same way out; namely a return to the Shi'ahist policy of an enlarged role for the state, positive efforts to redress the balance between rich and poor, and a new recognition of Lebanon's Arab character. The confessional system must go or be drastically amended. But here we seem to be back to the Lebanese paradox: the more active the state the greater the polarization of social and economic problems and the greater the tendency for individuals to rally to their religious flags the better to defend or improve their positions. To what extent were Lebanon's problems during the 1970s the consequence of the Shi'ahist policies of the 1960s rather than of their rejection in 1970? In these books the question is not asked.



Walking in Sinai: one of nearly fifty photographs by Konrad Müller in *Anwar Sadat: The Last Hundred Days*, with text by Ida Blasse (200pp. Thames and Hudson. £6.95. 0 500 01277 6).

One for the records

Edward Playfair

IAN B. COWAN and DUNCAN SHAW (Editors)

The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland: Essays in honour of Gordon Donaldson
261pp. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press. £14.50.
0 7073 0261 7

Gordon Donaldson has, over the years, been one of the most learned of Scottish historians; also among the most generally useful ones, thanks to his ability and willingness to write for the ordinary reader as well as for the student. His first appointment after gaining his PhD under Sir John Neale was in the Scottish Record Office, where he acquired his knowledge of his primary interest in the sixteenth century. Thence he migrated to the Department of Scottish History in the University of Edinburgh and in due course became Professor; and in 1979, the year of his retirement from the chair, he was appointed Historiographer to the Queen in Scotland, an old-established honour which is a mark of supremacy in his field. Though he was born in Edinburgh and spent his life there, he is devotedly attached to Shetland, where his family came; his first published article was on 'The native island of Yell' and forty years later he was still visiting and writing about the islands.

The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland starts with an excellent appreciation of the man by the late Thomas Lathall, who was one of the present keepers of the Records of Scotland on his work with and for those Records, which has continued throughout his career. At the end there is a useful bibliography of his writing. In between are nine essays, from Scotland, two from Canada and one from Denmark; none from England, a fact which perhaps speaks for itself. Three essays from the University of Glasgow are wholly based on the records and are so technical as hardly to be readable by the non-expert: one on "The early Scottish notary" and two on different aspects of church

patronage in the sixteenth century. Then there are two by members of the staff of the Scottish Record Office, again based on the records, but far more approachable. One, by Athol Murray, is on the desperate game of financing the royal household in the reign of James V; the other, by Margaret Sanderson, is an interesting analysis of the position in society of Edinburgh merchants in the last thirty years of the sixteenth century, as evidenced by their testaments.

Given the book's title, one feels that its focus should be the essay, centrally placed, by Denis Hay on "Scotland and the Italian Renaissance"; but, alas, this is a disappointment, since it emerges that it is a study of a non-subject. The Renaissance came late to Scotland and through other channels. During the sixteenth century hardly any influences came direct from Italy, except for the inevitable but not major influence of Italian poetry on a great generation of Scottish poets. Professor Hay does not even elaborate as much as he might about Scottish visitors to Italy; Edward Cowan tells us more about them in his essay on "The Darker Version of the Scottish Renaissance: the Devil and Francis Stewart", which is an entertaining account of a rascal's life but contains too much guesswork to convince one that its title is relevant. Duncan Shaw's analysis of the catalogue of Bishop Adam Bothwell's library, which survives, though few of the books do, shows him to have been a learned man of up-to-date tastes, but tells one nothing about the Renaissance in Scotland. The aim of the editors has been, very reasonably, to concentrate their contributors on Professor Donaldson's sixteenth century. By stressing the Renaissance in their title, they have acted as provocateurs to those of their contributors who have accepted both the Scottish Renaissance and kept to the sixteenth century, but kept to the sixteenth century. At the end there is a useful bibliography of his writing. In between are nine essays, from Scotland, two from Canada and one from Denmark; none from England, a fact which perhaps speaks for itself. Three essays from the University of Glasgow are wholly based on the records and are so technical as hardly to be readable by the non-expert: one on "The early Scottish notary" and two on different aspects of church

The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland starts with an excellent appreciation of the man by the late Thomas Lathall, who was one of the present keepers of the Records of Scotland on his work with and for those Records, which has continued throughout his career. At the end there is a useful bibliography of his writing. In between are nine essays, from Scotland, two from Canada and one from Denmark; none from England, a fact which perhaps speaks for itself. Three essays from the University of Glasgow are wholly based on the records and are so technical as hardly to be readable by the non-expert: one on "The early Scottish notary" and two on different aspects of church

In full production

Nicholas Rescher

JON ELSTER

Explaining Technical Change: A Case Study in the Philosophy of Science
273pp. Cambridge University Press.
£22.50 (paperback, £7.50).
0 521 24920 1

Robert Hutchins remarked that a modern university is a collection of departments joined together by a central-heating system. Analogously, Jon Elster's book is a collection of studies joined together by binder's string. Its first part examines different modes of scientific explanation; its middle part discusses various theories of the economics of production (most centrally, Schumpeter's); its final part revises the Marxist theory of capitalist production. No part is substantially dependent on or indebted to the rest. They tell their separate stories like travellers meeting round a common hearth.

To be sure, they tell interesting tales. Elster is thoroughly familiar with a wide-ranging literature in philosophy, economics, and social theory. He discusses with insight and erudition a whole host of issues in these fields, treating them with the subtlety and sophistication we have come to expect of this fertile author.

Philosophical writers find to their dismay that printers often convert *causal* to *casual*. Elster's discussion of

causal explanation is designed to avert any reversal of this that mistakes causal connections for causal linkages. But the sophisticated machinery he presents for this purpose spins like a loosely connected wheel. By the time he gets around to economic theories of technological production we hark back to the domain of traditionalist-style models that juggle the usual parameters of macroeconomic analysis without concern for such Johnny-come-lately sophistications.

Elster's analysis of intentional explanation is problematic in stressing "objective" rationality to the neglect of the crucial role of beliefs. If the received wisdom of the day has it that doing A will engender the desirable effect E, then this suffices to explain why rational agents do A even though (for reasons they could not be expected to know) it may eventuate as quite false that A produces E. This circumstance ties rational action to the cognitive state of the art of the day in a way that explanations in order of reasons can ignore only at the price of inadequacy. And this is the Achilles' heel of Elster's account. He confesses to being "baffled" by the type of rationality which is based on reasonable but potentially false belief. But just here is where all the action really is.

Rationality and efficiency (optimality, etc) cannot be joined satisfactorily save through the mediation of reasonable belief. To heed this point would, however, shift the issue of explaining technological change to a plane different from the strictly economic level at which Elster is content to operate. Sociology would

rear its ugly head. We would now need to look much more closely at the state of "knowledge", belief, and expectation that prevails in the settings in which technological change occurs.

"The language of interests," Elster objects against Habermas, "is simply too coarse-grained and too external to scientific practice to mesh well with the fine grain of actual research". But he conveniently overlooks that this all-purpose put-down applies equally to his own favoured models for explaining technical change – and indeed applies to the very notion of "technical change" itself. Elster construes that as "the development of the productive forces", but since he sees production in preeminently industrial terms, this approach does little more than to imprison him in the dismal caverns of traditional economics.

The supposition that since the effects of technical change make themselves felt in the traditional macroeconomic parameters (capital resources, labour, production functions, and such-like), therefore the causes of technical change can properly be understood in economic categories is highly questionable. To explain technical change in macroeconomic terms is to put the cart before the horse. Yet while Elster is certainly not a Marxist doctrinaire, his book is pervaded by the idea that technical change must be accounted for *more economico*. He does not properly acknowledge the magnitude and fundamentality of the range of questions about the explanation of technical change that would remain even if we had an adequate theory of the macro-

economics of labour-saving arrangements in industrial production.

It is going to be hard to show that technical change in current times is fired by the fuels of macroeconomics. The technological revolution in natural science or in medicine or in entertainment is difficult to account for on this basis. We are not going to find it easy to explain this sort of thing on the principles central to Elster's economic approach, shackled as it is to the traditional concerns of the macroeconomics of industrial production. It is well worth pondering the circumstance that the cutting edge of latter-day innovation in technology is in two areas – scientific research and military operations – which, their immense resource-costs notwithstanding, are virtually outside the arena of traditional economic concerns.

The driving force in technical innovation is competition – the impetus to outdo – and this need by no means be economic competition. It can be military or scientific or athletic. If we want to know why some technical innovations sweep the world while others get swept into the dustbin, we had best begin by asking which

subserve the interests of a party to the significant rivalry. It is far less implausible to suppose that the explosion of technology in modern Europe was largely induced by the competition among rival states for powers, and that rivalry of states provided a powerful stimulus to technical development. There is a reason to think that the explanation should proceed in the first instance political and sociological categories and that we tie our hands needlessly and counterproductively if we insist on taking a rigidly economic approach.

Interesting though Elster's tour of theories of economic production is – and enlivened by occasional interesting by-ways – it is, in my view, achieving very few successes in accounting for the salient parameters of technological innovation (its volume, rate of change, direction, etc). This reader, at a rate, came away from it with the feeling that if one's aim is to understand the rationale of technical change, it would do better to read the history of the cyclotron or the biography of Brunel than the works of economists combined.

Purely by chance

Richard Gregory

MANFRED EIGEN AND RUTHILD WINKLER

Laws of the Game: How the Principles of Nature Govern Chance
Translated by Robert and Rito Kimbler
347pp. Penguin. £4.95.
0 14 055142 5

This unusual book is the English translation of the German *Das Spiel: Naturgesetze steuern den Zufall*, which was published in 1975. Manfred Eigen is a distinguished physicist, who was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1967 for his work on chemical kinematics, and Ruthild Winkler-Oswatitsch has worked with him at the Max Planck Institute in Göttingen since 1965. The central theme is that laws of the physical world are like rules of games. Much of the book is devoted to presenting many kinds of games, some of them board games, some of them card games, and some of them molecular games, seen as games of Nature, together with comments on language and cognitive psychology. The range is remarkable, though occasionally the aim wavers.

It is an axiom of quantum physics that chance is inherent in energy jumps, and that certainties are given by averaged large numbers of undetermined events. This is a tricky question of the laws of physics and what they apply to. Are laws of physics, like scientific laws, only applicable to large numbers? Does this give a meaning to the concept of "individual freedom" allowing prediction and planning? Individual games whose moves are determined?

Many games, including some of those described in detail below, are used to illuminate concepts of change in the generation of new ideas, in kinds of growth, and also to show some kinds of physical and biological processes can be described in terms of particular properties of matter. The laws of physics, like scientific laws, only applicable to large numbers? Does this give a meaning to the concept of "individual freedom" allowing prediction and planning? Individual games whose moves are determined?

When mere local patriotism is all that is at stake, the illusion associated with availability is fairly harmless. But the availability illusion may distort the scenarios constructed by general politicians and other kinds of scenario addicts: the more "available" the scenario appears to them, the higher the probability they tend to assign to the chain of events it depicts. This may sometimes be a serious illusion.

The research presented in the book has very wide implications, and it deserves a wide and varied audience. The book, I am afraid, looks rather threatening, with its bulky text peppered with tables, graphs, and formulas. The title, too, though informative, is not terribly inviting. But all that is an illusion. Most of the articles in this exciting collection make very good reading. The examples are lively, the style is engaging, and it is as entertaining as it is enlightening.

The collection is also highly pertinent for philosophers. It conveys human rationality as a rationality which is partly "biased" in the face of

describe, that interest Elgar Winkler, though they do consider thinking, language, art and science in terms of Rules of Games that play with or against Nature.

Chance or uncertainty has been several centuries past been thought in two ways: as being due to lack of knowledge on our part, or else as inherent randomness in the universe which we try to predict, control, or understand. To confuse further the difficult issue, one can imagine a strict determinism which not only appears but must appear chaotic, because of the lack of time to compute results, even though all the data are available for establishing a conclusion. Since the computing is for machines or for brains is ultimately limited, for basic physical reasons might apply even if we could compute "play the game" – throughout the lifetime of the universe.

It is an axiom of quantum physics that chance is inherent in energy jumps, and that certainties are given by averaged large numbers of undetermined events. This is a tricky question of the laws of physics and what they apply to. Are laws of physics, like scientific laws, only applicable to large numbers? Does this give a meaning to the concept of "individual freedom" allowing prediction and planning? Individual games whose moves are determined?

Many games, including some of those described in detail below, are used to illuminate concepts of change in the generation of new ideas, in kinds of growth, and also to show some kinds of physical and biological processes can be described in terms of particular properties of matter. The laws of physics, like scientific laws, only applicable to large numbers? Does this give a meaning to the concept of "individual freedom" allowing prediction and planning? Individual games whose moves are determined?

One comes to ask while reading the book: What is the status of laws where do the laws of physics come from? These surely are the most basic questions in the philosophy of science, and more puzzling than the more discussed related questions of what how inductive inference works, what the laws of logic are, and what philosophical grounds can be given for the rules of games and inference.

This view of randomness in nature as being analogous with games where chance plays an essential part, is the opposite view from Einstein's celebrated "God does not play dice". The essential theme here is that the world is a dicey place to live in, though leaving the rules helps. The perhaps necessarily sketchy account of how we question and understand is unlike Wittgenstein's equally famous *Word Games*, for it is mainly the principles of physical, and especially biological processes, rather than how we see and

Do-be-do-be-do

Mary Furness

MADISON SMARTT BELL

The Washington Square Ensemble
342pp. Andre Deutsch. £7.95.
0 233 97542 X

The Washington Square "ensemble" is a heroin-pushing gang, although its leader prefers to dub his wares "pharmaceuticals"; he is a cool, clear-thinking criminal who likes to keep himself, his pockets and his veins clean. He also likes naming things. Of his own name for himself he says "I was christened Enrico Spaghetti or something like that, but I am known to my colleagues and my business acquaintances as Johnny B. Goodie. Because I love black people and their music and money, and because I do be good." Having hit on "Lemon Peel" as a good name for an old negro with yellow stains on his beard he reflects that "when I've called him that enough times to enough people that will be his name, because that is the way the world works, and what you call a thing is what it is."

All the characters here are philosophers in their own ways. Three of them work for Johnny and all have been named by him: Holy Mother is a devout Catholic, a cousin of his and a junkie (the only one among them who is, and with good reason, as we learn from his story); Santa Barbara a Puerto Rican, a Black Magic voodooist whose mastery of English is far from perfect; and Yusuf Ali an enormous Muslim negro, so strong he can bend a gun double with one hand but who will himself bend to the will of Allah in everything. Then there is Porco Misero, a fast-talking, hard-drinking Bowery bum-cum-saxophonist who has been excluded from the ensemble on the grounds of being unreliable and a bad influence. The action of the book has a mere twenty-four hours, but enough happens, both in the past and in the present, enough is talked about and thought and noticed, for a much longer time-span.

Each of the characters talks in turn, in his own language (this takes some getting used to, but the initial suspicion that it is a clever trick which will fail to

conceal some fundamental flaw in the structure is quickly dispelled). They tell us about how they came to be what they are, and these stories within stories are so absorbing – Holy Mother's experiences in Attica State Penitentiary, for example – that it's easy to forget there is a main thread. Then the past catches up with the present, the separate characters and strands knit themselves together.

Madison Smartt Bell's language is American at its best; lively and expressive, but always lucid and never merely distracting. His subject matter is more Chandlerian than Woolfian, but he is a master of demotic stream-of-consciousness and the descriptive commentary. Johnny B. in the park:

A yellow butterfly materializes in front of my nose and I follow him into the east end of the park, losing him finally among the trees and the stained tattered grass. It's quiet over here and not much going on. Here's a pale reedy girl sitting cross-legged playing the flute in the general direction of a boy with a backpack who's reading Camus. Over there on a bench there's another old lady, tapping a black orthopedic shoe. A mongrel dog comes along and propositions her and she gives him a taste of the old steel toe, so he runs on ahead to check out a wino stroked on the next bench down the line to two black guys in kni caps, passing a joint.

Smartt Bell's sociological perceptions are on target too: Porco says of a "conceptual artist" whose scam is dried mud sculptures and whose real artistry lies in getting grants, "all the money Bradley Todd makes is not worth having to be Bradley Todd" and "Bradley Todd's main problem at present is that he's fallen into believing his own PR."

The novel brilliantly evokes a world of violence, depravity and despair without inducing a lowering of the spirits. As it unfolds, the ensemble, tough and inured to the seamiest side of life, reveal themselves to have higher feelings and loyalties than are manifested in their gritty, almost unrecognisable actions. Moments of tension turn almost imperceptibly into cool and sustained triumphs, like one of the passages of jazz which the author describes so well.

The heretic's quest

Neville Shack

ANITA MASON

The Unholyman
283pp. Hamish Hamilton. £8.95.
0 241 10973 6

In Acts of the Apostles Simon Magus offers money for the power to transmit the Holy Spirit through the laying on of hands, and is condemned by Peter. Peter tells Simon that his heart is not right before God: "For I see that you are in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity." This strange magician, from Samaria, in first-century Palestine, espoused Christianity, but, ever ambiguous, he was later identified as a heretic for advocating salvation through "secret knowledge," a form of Gnosticism. In Anita Mason's novel he is taken from the margins to become the central figure. Jesus has already been crucified, and his followers are grappling with an awesome legacy. Simon himself practices his magic divorced from considerations of good and evil, an amoralist, he wanders around a politically and spiritually turbulent country with his catamite-companion, Demetrius.

His every act inspires wonder and reverence, but he knows that in a sense, he has reached an impasse. A man who performs striking displays of magic may be regarded as a god, but the Jews had always tabooed the idea. Simon cannot afford the risk of being elevated to such heights, where his "folly" in people's minds would be constantly on trial. The pagan demands a crisis of conscience; there must be a further mystery in the world, an imperceptible secret. Simon's quest for transcendence leads him into

an encounter with the early Christians. The correspondences and discords between magic and the Holy Truth are described; so too, is the pain involved in the revolutions of Saul and the Apostles, their desperate mission to spread Christ's teachings. After the angry episode touched on in Acts, Simon returns to a life of wandering; this time he travels the roads preaching his heretical opinions on God and Man. He uses magic for the playing out of illusions, mocking the senses of his spectators; the last of these is Caesar himself.

Anita Mason's narrative is at its best when it reflects back on some of the doctrines and personages from the New Testament. She uses this Scriptural background well in the process challenging many assumptions about Christianity in its infancy. Simon tries to go straight to the crux between faith and history, sacred and profane, that the Bible represents: an epic narration which is supposed to demonstrate the workings of a divine will. When she has to use the different elements of her novel together, though, there is often a sense of dislocation and bathos. Philosophy, history, early Christianity, magic and the individual story of Simon all jostle each other, but are not satisfactorily integrated. The author's story-telling method can seem mechanical, even textbookish: "In those days there were many teachers." "In those days there was great uncertainty, and marvels were commonplace, but seldom useful."

The philosophical superstructure of the book, its connections between history and myth, and the self-conscious demythologizing, obscured too much. Anita Mason lacks the deftness of touch that would have allowed her to do more than cut her story across the grain of the Bible.

Paperbacks in brief

Architecture

ROBERT GRANT IRVING. *Indian Summer. Lutyens, Baker and Imperial Delhi*. 406pp. Yale University Press. £9.95. 0 300 13128 0. First published in 1981 and reviewed in the TLS of August 6, 1982.

RUDOLF WITTKOWER. *Palladio and English Palladianism*. 224pp, with 219 illustrations. Thames and Hudson. £7.95. 0 500 27296 4. The lectures and papers which make up this book were collected by Margot Wittkower after her husband's death and published in 1974 (when the TLS reviewed them on May 24). Ranging from brief notes – on Inigo Jones as a "Puritan", for example, or an inconclusive but fascinating examination of Palladio and the Renaissance balustrade – to substantial discussions of architectural theory, they combine to characterize in depth the spread of Palladio's ideas from the Veneto, through Jones and Webb, to Burlington, Kent and Colen Campbell. The most conjectural piece excitingly suggests the undeclared influence (via Scamozzi) of Palladian forms – colonnades, church fronts – on the radically different genius of Bernini. But otherwise everything is based on exhaustive and scholarly examination of evidence. Palladianism was a bookish movement, and Wittkower rightly concentrates on its propagation through architectural literature from Palladio's own *Quattro Libri* on, subsequently casting further back to unravel a whole tradition of such publications in England. The scholarship in Wittkower's work predominates in the critical: *Palladio and English Palladianism* does little to evoke the peculiarly compelling tempo – formal, Apollonian and yet profoundly nostalgic – of Palladian buildings; it is, however, one of the few essential works on this absorbing subject.

A.J.G.H.

Biography and Memoirs

CHARLES DARWIN AND T. H. HUXLEY. *Autobiographies*, edited with an introduction by Gavin de Beer. 123pp. Oxford University Press. £2.50. 0 19 285131 4. First published in 1974, this volume collects Darwin's misleadingly low-key and awkwardly modest *Autobiography* (completed one year before his death and intended solely for his own family); his very short "Autobiographical Fragment" (written when he was twenty-nine); T. H. Huxley's "Notebook: Thoughts and Doings" ("I must get on faster than this – I must adopt a fixed plan of studies for unless this is done I find time slips away without knowing it"); his "Autobiography" (coined out of him to a persistent editor and as brief a statement to the police); and his 1894 "speech at the Royal Society Dinner" accepting the Darwin medal, which is even briefer. The text of Darwin's *Autobiography* is taken from Nora Barlow's 1958 unexpurgated version collated afresh (1974) with the original manuscript in Cambridge University Library. Well illustrated, this paperback edition has yet unaccountably replaced the full-faced portrait of Mrs Huxley middle-aged, forceful, intelligent, with a sad picture of her in 1910, artificially wearing at some baby-garment and with what appears to be a pillow over her eyes. The book is a satisfying comparison of the characters of these two giants in biology would be provided by a good read of Darwin's *Journal of Researches into the Natural History and Geology of the Various Countries visited by H.M.S. Beagle 1831-1845*, edited by Huxley, and Huxley's *Diary of a Voyage of H.M.S. Rattlesnake*, edited by Julian Huxley (1935).

R.O.H.

History
E. BADIAN. *Publicans and Sinners. The Private Enterprise in the Service of the Roman Republic*. 174pp. Cornell University Press. £5.00. 0 8014 9241 6. The Roman state did not have the machinery to collect taxes or to fulfil public contracts itself: the censors farmed these activities out to companies (*societates*) the partners in whom were wealthy men known as *publicani*. Most historians have invited us to view them as sinners – greedy, corrupt, plunderers of the provinces – and enemies of responsible

government. Badian, however, like Christ, does not shun their company, and in this brilliantly controversial little book (first published in 1972 and reviewed in the TLS of February 16, 1973) redeems their reputation. The system, he says, worked well in the second century BC, and when it came to a showdown between Senate and *publicani*, the former were easy winners. No sooner had the *publicani* discovered, after the Sulla settlement, that their untrammelled rapacity could negate the political power of the Senate, than the senatorial big guns, no longer excluded from "trade" with their "Appietas" and "Lentitas", took the hint and muscled in on their act – no contest.

K.A.McC.

Literature

LEWIS GRASSIE GIBBON. *A Scots Hairst: Essays and Short Stories*. Edited by Ian S. Munro. 216pp. Hutchinson. £5.95. 0 09 153911 0. The TLS review (December 28, 1967) of this posthumous anthology started a correspondence over the meaning of the word "hairst", which that reviewer thought might be taken by readers of Grassie Gibbon's novels to mean "scraping the beard". In fact, the meaning is "harvest" and this book gathers together all of Grassie Gibbon's short work, as well as some unpublished juvenilia and a fragment of a novel, incomplete at the time of his death in 1935 at the age of thirty-four. The best pieces in this book are those which were included in *Scottish Scene*, which the author wrote in conjunction with Hugh MacDiarmid, particularly the stories "Clay", "Smeddum", "Greenend" and "Sim". In these, Grassie Gibbon employs dialect words and North-east speech rhythms to transform the basic English into a distinctive Scots idiom. Some of the essays are also fine ("Glasgow" and "Aberdeen" particularly) but in others Grassie Gibbon writes of his admiration for the Picts, with eccentric results.

J.C.

Wine

PETER HALLGARTEN. *Spirits and Liqueurs*. 188pp. Faber. £3.95. 0 571 13057 7. JOHN LIVINGSTONE-LEARMONTH and MELVYN C. H. MASTER. *The Wines of the Rhône*. 383pp. Faber. £5.25. 0 571 13055 0. FRANK SCHOONMAKER. *The Wines of Germany*. Revised by Peter Schiele. 221pp. Faber. £4.95. 0 571 13056 9. Of these three books recently republished by Faber in paperback, *The Wines of the Rhône* is by far the best value. It constitutes the most detailed and intimate account of any wine region in the English language. Learmonth has spent all his free time since the first edition came out (in 1978) getting to know the Rhône valley and its colourful inhabitants even better. The publication is particularly timely as more and more wine-drinkers discover that the Rhône produces some of the best wine value in the world. *The Wines of Germany* tries to do as the Rhône, and much more complicated, in considerably fewer pages. The book looks as though it has been put together by someone with a logical mind rather than a flowing pen, but that is probably all to the good. Although we are treated to none of the lyrical personal detail included in the Rhône volume, Peter Schiele in his second revision (first published in 1956) does a difficult job remarkably well. He is the man responsible for selling Blue Nun in the US, but he has been admirably restrained in his written references to it: Peter Hallgarten has been rather less so about his eponymous liqueurs in *Spirits and Liqueurs* (first published in 1979) but the book is crammed with other, more useful information – particularly on the history of the extraordinarily wide range of distillates described.

P.F.S.

Philosophy
ARISTOTLE. *Poetics*. Translated with an Introduction and Notes by James Hutton. 115pp. Norton. £3.50. 0 393 953216 9. Although Aristotle's *Poetics* seems to have had little influence in antiquity, it has since the Renaissance suffered a reversal of fortune which we can now hardly imagine not having taken place. In his introductory essay James Hutton (who died in 1980 – his colleague, G. M. Kirkwood, contributes a Preface) discusses Aristotle's "scientific" method in the *Poetics* at some length, the lost dialogue *On Poets*, and provides a general background. The notes are copious and substantive; the chapter breaks occur in the traditional places, and informative headings are provided, which somewhat compensates for the lack of an index. The translation may be less "literal" than some previous ones, but it has the merit of at least making its interpre-

tion clear, and so Aristotle's *Poetics* easy to read and more accessible to non-scholars.

A.P.

Travel

JOHN LINCOLN. *One Man's Mexico*. 238pp. Century. £4.95. 0 7126 0109 0. Nicholas Cheetham writes in the introduction to this book that "the serious foreigner travelling in Mexico, or, better still, living there for any length of time, can hardly resist the urge to add his or her own literary tribute to those already paid" and cites the examples of Octavio Paz and D. H. Lawrence. John Lincoln, who lived there from 1958 to 1964, continues the tradition in *One Man's Mexico* (first published by Bodley Head in 1967 and reviewed in the TLS of December 6 that year). What is unusual about his contribution to the genre is his antipathy to the country and its customs: he dwells on the danger and the stupidity and low cunning of the natives there, squalor and drunkenness. A chapter on Mexico City is a lengthy chronicle of violent crime and injustice which includes a spell in gaol. He only begins to lose his edginess and relax as he leaves the cities and enters the Mexican jungle. His descriptions of forests and lakes are a satisfying blend of information and enthusiasm and his appreciation of the beauty of the local birds shows that his time interest lies away from human habitation.

L.D.

The Travels of Marco Polo. 370pp. Norton. £3.25. 0 87140 132 0. Revised from Marsden's translation and edited with an introduction by Manuel Komroff. This edition was first published in 1953.

More than likely

Avishai Margalit

DANIEL KAHNEMAN, PAUL SLOVIC, AMOS TVERSKY (Editors)

Judgment under Uncertainty: Heuristics and Biases
569pp. Cambridge University Press.
£23 (paperback, £9.95).
0 521 24064

This book is decidedly not about deductive logic. It is also not strictly about inductive logic. It is, in a way, about seductive logic. Many of our decisions hinge on beliefs concerning the likelihood of uncertain events. The events might be the future course of the world, the outcome of an operation, the next general election, or of the next horse race. How do people estimate the probabilities of such uncertain events? This is the question with which the papers in the book are concerned.

Note, the question is not how people ought to estimate, but rather how they do. In fact, it is an empirical question, asked and answered by cognitive psychologists. The normative question is asked and answered by probability theorists. One such normative theory, the Bayesian theory, is more or less assumed by the participants in this volume to be the correct normative account, relative to which certain judgments appear as "biases". It turns out that, in many interesting cases, people deviate systematically from the normative recommendations of the standard theories of probability. These deviations are treated by the authors taking part in our volume as cognitive illusions. Cognitive illusions, like perceptual illusions, do not always disappear when they are recognized as illusions. We keep seeing the sick in water as bent, even after learning everything worth knowing about the behaviour of light rays in water. The same seems to happen with "statistical illusions": after years of doing statistics, statisticians are just about as prone to fall under the spell of statistical illusions in their inductive judgments as are lay persons.

Consider this "cognitive illusion". Subjects are presented with the following description:

Linda is 31 years old, single, outspoken, and very bright. She majored in philosophy. As a student, she was deeply concerned

with issues of discrimination and social justice, and also participated in anti-nuclear demonstrations.

The subjects are now asked which of the following two statements about Linda is more probable:

- Linda is a bank teller.
- Linda is a bank teller who is active in the feminist movement.

An overwhelming majority of the subjects assign a higher probability to (b) than to (a). But this of course is a blunder. Any normative theory, and – after some reflection – sound common-sense too, will tell us that the probability of the conjunction, (i) Linda is a bank teller and (ii) Linda is active in the feminist movement, cannot logically be higher than that of one of its conjuncts.

Where does the conjunction fallacy come from? Daniel Kahneman and Amos Tversky, the leaders of the powerful project presented in the book, suggest that in assessing probabilities our intuitive judgments employ not the axioms of probability, but rather some kind of "heuristics" (roughly, rules of thumb). Thus, in the case of Linda we judge probability by similarity – or, as it were, by representativeness. That is to say, the given description of Linda is more representative of a feminist bank-teller, than just a bank-teller.

Similarity and representativeness are not in general bad guides for judging probabilities, but on occasion they lead us astray. The conjunction case is such an occasion. Everyone will agree that it is a fallacy to assign a higher probability measure to a conjunction than to either of its components.

Not all, however, will agree that Linda's case involves the fallacy. It is supposed to involve. Alternative explanations are available. One such alternative might claim, e.g., that the subjects judge the likelihood of Linda's being a bank teller in one case, or a bank teller as well as a feminist, in the other, according to the interpretation people judge: what is "technically" dubbed "likelihood" rather than what is called "probability".

But this alternative is suspect. Had you asked subjects to estimate the number of bank-tellers who average attendance of three thousand, say, and then compared it to their estimates as to the hard-rock concert attendance

of guitarist bank-tellers, you would find the results higher for the latter than for the former. In such estimates it is clear that no confusion between likelihood and probability takes place. I myself take such findings as weighty evidence that the conjunction fallacy is too robust to be explained away.

Representativeness is not the only heuristic principle governing judgments under uncertainty. Tversky and Kahneman discovered others. Availability of examples is one such: people tend to assign a higher probability to conjectures they have available examples for, than to conjectures for which it is hard for them to come up with examples. Thus subjects say that there are more words in English beginning with the letter "k" than words which have "k" as their third letter. The truth of the matter is that words of the second kind are far more numerous than words of the first kind. But of course it is much easier for us to think of words starting with "k" than to think of words with "k" in third place.

Availability, then, affects judgments of probability. This bias explains why, e.g., we tend to overestimate the rate of success of people from our college, club or clan. We simply have more available examples of success in the case of people we are close to.

When mere local patriotism is all that is at stake, the illusion associated with availability is fairly harmless. But the availability illusion may distort the scenarios constructed by general politicians and other kinds of scenario addicts: the more "available" the scenario appears to them, the higher the probability they tend to assign to the chain of events it depicts. This may sometimes be a serious illusion.

The research presented in the book has very wide implications, and it deserves a wide and varied audience. The book, I am afraid, looks rather threatening, with its bulky text peppered with tables, graphs, and formulas. The title, too, though informative, is not terribly inviting. But all that is an illusion. Most of the articles in this exciting collection make very good reading. The examples are lively, the style is engaging, and it is as entertaining as it is enlightening.

The collection is also highly pertinent for philosophers. It conveys human rationality as a rationality which is partly "biased" in the face of

of guitarist bank-tellers, you would find the results higher for the latter than for the former. In such estimates it is clear that no confusion between likelihood and probability takes place. I myself take such findings as weighty evidence that the conjunction fallacy is too robust to be explained away.

Representativeness is not the only heuristic principle governing judgments under uncertainty. Tversky and Kahneman discovered others. Availability of examples is one such: people tend to assign a higher probability to conjectures they have available examples for, than to conjectures for which it is hard for them to come up with examples. Thus subjects say that there are more words in English beginning with the letter "k" than words which have "k" as their third letter. The truth of the matter is that words of the second kind are far more numerous than words of the first kind. But of course it is much easier for us to think of words starting with "k" than to think of words with "k" in third place.

Availability, then, affects judgments of probability. This bias explains why, e.g., we tend to overestimate the rate of success of people from our college, club or clan. We simply have more available examples of success in the case of people we are close to.

When mere local patriotism is all that is at stake, the illusion associated with availability is fairly harmless. But the availability illusion may distort the scenarios constructed by general politicians and other kinds of scenario addicts: the more "available" the scenario appears to them, the higher the probability they tend to assign to the chain of events it depicts. This may sometimes be a serious illusion.

The research presented in the book has very wide implications, and it deserves a wide and varied audience. The book, I am afraid, looks rather threatening, with its bulky text peppered with tables, graphs, and formulas. The title, too, though informative, is not terribly inviting. But all that is an illusion. Most of the articles in this exciting collection make very good reading. The examples are lively, the style is engaging, and it is as entertaining as it is enlightening.

The collection is also highly pertinent for philosophers. It conveys human rationality as a rationality which is partly "biased" in the face of

Handwritten notes in the right margin, including the word "likely" and some illegible scribbles.